














# Indian Pali Alphabets

vol. -2

  
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be placed on a judgment which did not take this element into consideration, for he assigns, on the mere ground of forms of letters, a higher antiquity to the Gujarát copper-plates, than he does to the Gupta inscriptions; whereas, we now know, that the Guptas preceded the Vallabhis!

Had he confined himself to tracing the alphabetical advances made by these different sections of Indian races, instead of comparing two series of literal signs that had been thus far matured by different hands, he would have worked upon surer ground. To support my assertion, I would direct attention to the varieties of types of letters to be found on the nearly contemporaneous inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. If we examine the Allahábád writing,<sup>1</sup> and contrast it with that on the Bhitari Lát,<sup>2</sup> we discover considerable difference between the general configurations of the majority of the characters in each—varying from scarcely perceptible modifications to an absolute difference of form in others; for instance, the ख, ग, घ, प, and श are virtually the same characters in both inscriptions, but their outlines are by no means identical, while the signs स, म, ह, and ण are, so to speak, different letters. To carry out the contrast, let us refer to the Bhilsa<sup>3</sup> inscription. Here again we find a general change in the aspect of the letters and most distinct modification or absolute divergence from the Allahábád type in the following characters—ख, ऊ, श, घ, प, म, न, र, ह, श, ष, and स.

V. As to the possible influence of the Semitic character of Northern India on the collateral Pálí; I should reduce this to the very minimum under its direct Palæographic aspect,<sup>4</sup> and should even prefer to advocate the converse proposition. There are here also some singular alphabetical coincidences which, however, had better be reserved for examination under the notes on the Arian character. A point which adds materially to the difficulty of instituting any useful comparisons in regard to this division of the subject is our ignorance of the date of the introduction of the Arian branch of the Semitic tree into the regions south of the Hindú Kush and its extension into the sub-Himalayan belt towards Hastinápúr. For, as in the case of the Southern alphabet, its

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 969.—See Translation, vol. i., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 1.—English Version, vol. i., p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 455.—Noticed at p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> [I am not at all certain, however, that the Arian alphabet did not contribute the letter ण, the equivalent of घ in its own series, to serve in the Sâh inscription as श. The original character has, to my perception, more of mechanical coincidence with the general tendency of the Arian formation of letters, than of homogeneity with the alphabet of the South; and it is curious to observe how soon the perpendicular centre stroke of the original became horizontal under local treatment. The proper Indian ब = घ, on the contrary, seems to have been of indigenous adaptation.]

earliest appearance, within our ken, is in the counterpart edict of Asoka at Kapur di Giri in the Pesháwur valley. Two items, however, suggest themselves as important in the general inquiry. (1) The greater amount of pure Sanskrit the Kapur di Giri inscription<sup>1</sup> carries in its text, as illustrating the descending course of that language<sup>2</sup>; and (2) the ultimate and not very long delayed extinction of all trace of the once extensively prevalent Arian character, and its supersession by the more exact and appropriate system of writing indigenous to the south!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [ 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 236.]

<sup>2</sup> [ Prinsep had already noticed this fact in connexion with other data then at his command—'The vernacular language of India at that period, then, varied in different provinces;—it approached more to the Sanskrit in the N.W.' etc.—vol. vii., p. 280. The possession of several letters requisite for the due definition of Sanskrit orthography, but unneeded in Pāli writing, is also important.]

<sup>3</sup> [I have usually avoided complicating the simple Palæographic inquiry—on which alone my data entitle me to speak—with any reference to the important light philology must be expected to throw upon the general question. I depart from my rule in this instance, in citing the original and highly valuable remarks of the author of the 'Dravidian Grammar,'<sup>a</sup> regarding the existing state and probable early course of certain Indian languages. Mr. Caldwell's position may be stated in his own words — 'That the Dravidian languages are to be affiliated, not with the Indo-European, but with the Scythian group of tongues; and that the Scythian family to which they appear to be most closely allied is the Finnish or Ugrian.'<sup>b</sup> [The scope of the term Dravidian is defined by the author as follows.] 'The idioms which are included in this work under the general term 'Dravidian' constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. With the exception of Orissa and those districts of Western India, and the Dekhan, in which the Gujaráthi and the Maráthi are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, from the Vindhya mountains and the river Nerbudda (Narmadá) to Cape Cormorin, is peopled, and from the earliest period appears to have been peopled, by different branches of one and the same race, speaking different dialects of one and the same language—the language to which the term 'Dravidian' is here applied; and scattered offshoots from the same stem may be traced still further north as far as the Rajmahal hills, and even as far as the mountain fastnesses of Beluchistán. The Gujaráthi, the Maráthi (with its offshoot the Konkani), and the Uriya, or the language of Orissa, idioms which are derived in the main from the decomposition of the Sanskrit, form the vernacular speech of the Hindú population within their respective limits. besides which, and besides the Dravidian languages, various idioms which cannot be termed indigenous or vernacular are spoken or occasionally used by particular classes resident in Peninsular India.'

<sup>a</sup> 'The idioms which I designate as 'Dravidian' are nine in number, exclusive of the Rajmahal, the Uraon, and the Brahuí.' They are as follows. 1, Tamil;

<sup>b</sup> 'A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages, by the Rev. R. Caldwell, B.A. London, Harrison, 1856.'

<sup>c</sup> Cf. also Norris' Scythian text, of the inscriptions at Behistun.—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xv.

<sup>d</sup> 'The discovery of this Dravidian element in a language spoken beyond the Indus proves that the Dravidians, like the Aryans, the Græco-Scythians, and the Turco-Mongolians, entered India by the North-Western route.—p. 23.

In this indeterminate state, I am content, for the present, to leave the general question of the progressive development of the writing of India proper; being convinced, that no uniform or absolute law can be enunciated applicable to the varied circumstances of the whole circle of the palæography of the

2, Telugu; 3, Canarese; 4, Malayalam; 5, Tulu—[the remaining four are] entirely uncultivated, destitute of written characters, and comparatively little known—6, Toda or Tudara; 7, Kota; 8, Gond or Goand; 9, Khond or Kund, or, more properly, the Ku. The proportionable numbers of the several races by whom the languages and dialects mentioned above are spoken appear to be as follows:

1 .....	10,000,000	} 32,150,000
2 .....	14,000,000	
3 .....	5,000,000	
4 .....	2,500,000	
5 .....	150,000	
6 to 9 .....	500,000	

‘Whilst I regard the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristics of the Dravidian idioms as Seythian, I claim for them a position in the Scythian group which is independent of its other members, as a distinct family or genus, or, at least, as a distinct subgenus of tongues. They belong not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian, or to the Tungusian, . . . but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised. On the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied to the Finnish or Ugrian family, with special affinities, as it appears, to the Ostiak.’—p. 46.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the Northern Indian languages are summed up thus—‘It is admitted that before the arrival of the Aryans, or Sanskrit speaking colony of Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, the greater part of Northern India was peopled by rude aboriginal tribes, called by Sanskrit writers Mlêchhas, Dasyus, Nishādas, etc.; and it is the received opinion that those aboriginal tribes were of Seythian, or, at least, of non-Aryan origin. On the irruption of the Aryans, it would naturally happen that the copious and expressive Sanskrit of the conquering race would almost overwhelm the vocabulary of the rude Seythian tongue which was spoken by the aboriginal tribes. Nevertheless, as the grammatical structure of the Seythian tongues possesses peculiar stability and persistency; and as the pre-Aryan tribes, who were probably more numerous than the Aryans, were not annihilated, but only reduced to a dependent position, and eventually, in most instances, incorporated in the Aryan community, the large Sanskrit addition which the Seythian vernaculars received would not necessarily alter their essential structure, or deprive them of the power of influencing and assimilating the speech of the conquering race. According to this theory, the grammatical structure of the spoken idioms of Northern India was from the first, and always continued to be, in the main, Seythian; and the change which took place when Sanskrit acquired the predominance, as the Aryans gradually extended their conquests and their colonies, was rather a change of vocabulary than of grammar,—a change not so much in the arrangement and vital spirit as in the *matériel* of the language. This hypothesis seems to have the merit of according better than any other with existing phenomena. Seeing that the Northern vernaculars possess, with the words of the Sanskrit, a grammatical structure which in the main appears to be Seythian, it seems more correct to represent those languages as having a Seythian basis, with a large and almost overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis, with a small admixture of a Seythian element.’—p. 38.

‘The Seythian substratum of the North-Indian idioms presents a greater number of points of agreement with the Oriental Turkish, or with that Seythian tongue or family of tongues of which the new Persian has been modified, than with any of the Dravidian languages.’—p. 39.

multifarious languages and nationalities embraced amid the indigenous or intrusive races, who in succession may have peopled portions of that land.

I now insert the type Table of transitions of the Indian Alphabet referred to at page 41. This, like Prinsep's lithographed synopsis, requires but little introductory notice, as it should be sufficiently explanatory in itself, but it may be necessary to mention, that I have modified some of the headings of the earlier alphabets, which I have felt bound to retain unaltered in the artist's copy of Prinsep's original fac-similes.<sup>1</sup>

The derivations of the six leading or epochal series of the general table may ordinarily be gathered from the notices and translations of the original texts of each, inserted in various parts of this publication.<sup>2</sup>

The so-entitled Nerbudda character is taken from a set of copper-plate grants, of uncertain date, found at Seoní in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories;<sup>3</sup> and the Kistna alphabet,

<sup>1</sup> [As the accompanying Table of Alphabets has lately appeared, under a slightly varied form, in the work of another author, it is necessary for me to explain how it comes to be inserted in this place without the usual acknowledgment. My Publisher, in making his preparations for the present reprint, imported, at my request, from Germany, such of the Sanskrit types, based upon Prinsep's originals, as were deemed requisite for the illustration of the Palæographic history of Indian writing. As some difficulties presented themselves, on the arrival of this foreign type, in regard to its justification and assimilation with our own, it was determined to set up the entire table before it was required in the order of the consecutive articles. This was done, and the first rough proof had been submitted to me, when Mr. Austin's managing superintendent intimated that if I had no objection he intended to lend the table for publication in Mr. Monier Williams' Sanskrit Grammar. I of course assented willingly to this arrangement, merely stipulating, in the most distinct manner, for the due acknowledgment of the derivation. I heard nothing further on the subject till the work in question appeared, under the auspices of the Oxford University Press, when I naturally looked for the expected recognition of the use of my materials. However, to my surprise, I could discover no notice whatever of obligations to my publisher or myself. Upon making inquiries, I discovered that there had been some misapprehension as to the terms under which these materials had been permitted to be used; and Mr. Williams assures me that he was not in any way made aware of my interest or concern in the synopsis, and therefore necessarily failed to acknowledge the merely secondary title I claim in its reproduction.]

<sup>2</sup> [No. 1, vol. ii. p. 8, *et seq.* of this publication; No. 2, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 1042; see also Stevenson, 'Bombay Journal,' July, 1853, and January, 1854; No. 3, Art. xix. *infra*; No. 4, vol. i., p. 233; No. 5, vol. i., p. 262; No. 6, vol. i., p. 321.]

<sup>3</sup> [See p. 726 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. v. (1836), and also Prof. Wilson on 'Chattisgarh Inscriptions,' 'Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 507.]

TRANSITIONS  
OF THE  
INDIAN ALPHABET,  
FROM THE TIME OF AŚOKA,  
WITH SOME OF THE MOST MARKED LOCAL VARIETIES  
AT PRESENT IN USE.





# V O W E I. S.

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ri	ṛi	e	ai	o	au	an	ah
ASOKA'S EDICTS. 3rd Cent. B.C.	𑀅	𑀅	:		𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			
WESTERN CAVES.	𑀅	𑀅	:		𑀅				𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			
SĀH INSCRIPTION. (Girnār.)	𑀅	𑀅	:		𑀅		𑀅		𑀅		𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
GUPTA INSCRIPTION. (Allahābād.)	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅		𑀅		𑀅		𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
VALABHI PLATES. (Gujarāt.)	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅					𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
KUTILA INSCRIPTION. 10th Cent. A.D. (Bareilly.)	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅		𑀅	𑀅
NEPBUDDA.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅										
KISTNA.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅											
TELINGA. (Modern.)	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅		
TIBETAN. (Modern.)	𑀅		𑀅		𑀅				𑀅		𑀅			
SQUARE PALI.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			
GUJARĀTĪ.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅		𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			
PUNJĀBĪ.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅			𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
KASHMĪRĪ.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
BENGĀLĪ.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅
DEVANĀGARĪ.	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅	𑀅



which follows, was obtained from inscriptions at Amarāvati in Berār.<sup>1</sup>

For the more modern alphabets, which are arranged irrespective of their relative antiquity, I have had to rely upon such

<sup>1</sup> [Prinsep explains the source from whence he derived the materials for this alphabet in the following remarks :—‘ In the library of ‘the Asiatic Society are ten manuscript volumes of drawings of sculpture, images, architecture, and inscriptions, forming part of the celebrated collection of the late Colonel Mackenzie. The greater portion of these are as yet unknown and undescribed. None of the series, as far as we can ascertain, have been published, nor are we aware of any attempt having been made to decipher the inscriptions. It is greatly to be wished that the whole of these interesting documents could be digested in some convenient arrangement and made accessible to the learned world, especially now that the invention of lithography offers a cheap and expeditious means of effecting such an object. We were in hopes of combining their publication in the form of a volume or two of plates, with the digest of the Mackenzie manuscripts, which, at the recommendation of the Society, the Government has lately entrusted to the Rev. W. Taylor at Madras, the author of ‘Oriental Historical Manuscripts.’ As a specimen of the contents of these curious volumes, Captain Cunningham has kindly favored me with the two lithographs numbered as pls. x. and xi., vol. vi., ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’ He has selected the two longest inscriptions from the volume, No. 18, entitled ‘Antiquities at Amarāvati,’ a town in the Berār province, situated on the Kistna river to the west of Nāgpur.

‘The majority of the sculptures of Amarāvati seem to belong to a magnificent *dehgopa*, or Buddhist shrine; but there is an admixture towards the end of the volume of objects of the linga worship. An accurate map of the town is prefixed, whence it appears that the ruined *dehgopa*, whence the relics are taken, was on a mound of 150 feet diameter, now converted into a tank. It is called Dipaldinna (translated by Colonel Mackenzie ‘the mound of lights’), which so resembles the name of a similar place of Buddhist celebrity in Ceylon (Dambadinna), that we imagined, on seeing the inscription from the east side of the gateway, some mistake must have been committed; for on comparing the characters with pl. xxviii. of the ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, vol. v., p. 554, their perfect identity with the Ceylonese type of old Nāgari was manifest: indeed the three initial letters appear to form the same word ‘*muyikē*’ . . . and the same combination there recognized as ‘*Mahārāja*’ . . . drew Captain Cunningham’s attention while copying the penultimate line of the present inscription.

‘The second inscription, occupying the two sides of pl. xi., ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, vol. vi. [the Kistna alphabet], is altogether of a different class, although the book states it to have been procured from the same town, Amarāvati.

‘The character has much resemblance to that of some of the cave inscriptions at Mahābalipur and other places to the westward; the essential portion of each letter also assimilates very closely to the alphabets of the Chattisgarh and Seonf inscriptions, and this has served as the key by which I have effected the transcription of the whole.

‘It is worthy of remark, that in this alphabet, which we may aptly denominate the Andhra character, from its locality, may be traced the gradual transition from the more simple Devanāgarī of Northern India (No. 2 of Allahābād, Gaya and Gujārāt) to the complicated or florid writing of the Southern Peninsula. On comparing it with the Hala Kanara, or ancient Karnatic, the letters *n*, *t*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *kh*, *th*, *dh*, *bh*, which may be regarded in some degree as test letters, because they have undergone more variation than others in the modern writing of different provinces, are nearly identical. There is also an incipient loop in the lower line of many of the letters which becomes afterwards more developed in the west and south. The Telinga or Telugu character is one step further removed, but it springs directly from the Hala Kanara, and retains many of the Andhra letters still unchanged, particularly the *dh*

type as chanced to be available, amid which may be found some isolated forms that might stand but indifferently the test of local criticism.—E.T.]

and *ṣ*. In the accompanying plate ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi. pl. xii) we have thought it worth while to exhibit these resemblances, and point out the peculiarities noted, that no means may be neglected of facilitating the examination of other inscriptions that may link on naturally at either end of this fragment of the chain of our Indian palæography.'

## XIX.—EXAMINATION OF THE SÁH INSCRIPTION FROM GIRNÁR IN GUJARÁT.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION, No. 1, FROM JUNAGARH.

[ I insert Jas. Prinsep's translation of the Sáh inscription at Girnár as it originally appeared in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Bengal'—notwithstanding that it has to a certain extent been superseded in the acquisition of more perfect copies of the monumental writing than he was constrained to rely upon—in order both to complete the record of his contributions to an important section of Indian Numismatics, and to serve as a needful introduction to his notes in illustration of the subject, which retain, with but limited exceptions, their pristine value!—E. T.]

After the announcement made in the proceedings of the Society, that the Governor-General has acceded to my request, for the deputation of an officer to take exact facsimiles of the several inscriptions in Gujarát, which have turned out to be of so important a nature, it may seem premature or superfluous to continue the publication of the analysis of the less perfect document now in my hands. But it is only in a few uncertain passages that the expected corrections are desired. The body of the matter is sufficiently intelligible, both in the Páli edicts of Girnár, lately published, and in the Sanskrit inscription from Junagarh, which I have chosen for the subject of my present notice.

I should, indeed, be doing an injustice to Capt. Laing, who executed the cloth facsimile for the President of the Bombay Literary Society, and to Dr. Wilson himself, who so graciously placed it at my disposal, when, doubtless, he might with little trouble have succeeded himself in interpreting it much better than I can do, from his well-known proficiency in the Sanskrit language; it would, I say, be an injustice to them were I to withhold the publication of what is already prepared for the press, which may be looked upon as their property and their discovery, and to mix it with what may hereafter be obtained by a more accurate survey of the spot.

Before, however, proceeding to the inscription itself, I insert Dr. Wilson's account of the site.

‘The rock containing the inscriptions, it should be observed, is about a mile to the eastward of Junágad, and about four miles from the base of Girnár, which is in the same direction. It marks, I should think, the extremity of the Maryádá of the sacred mountain. The Jainas, as the successors of the Bauddhas, greatly honour it.’

The rock or large stone above alluded to, appears to contain all three inscriptions. On the eastern side facing the Girnár hill are the edicts of Asoka in the old character; on the western side, the Sanskrit inscription which I have selected as my theme for the present occasion; and on the southern side a third inscription, longer even than either of the others, but somewhat more modern, and less distinct.

The western inscription, then, is near the top of the stone;—it covers a surface of ten feet and a half in breadth, by five feet in height. The stone is a good deal cut or worn away in two places, but it does not seem that anything has been lost on the outer edges, the

irregularities there visible proceeding from the contour of the stone. Capt. Laing's facsimile is lithographed on a very reduced scale in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pl. xv.

The character is only one remove from the Buddhist alphabet of Girnár. It has the same mode of applying the vowel marks *e*, *a*, and *o*, in particular to those excellent test letters, *n*, *ṇ*, and *m*. The vowel *i* is still formed of the three dots; but I need not more fully dilate upon its peculiarities, since I have already inserted the whole alphabet, as No. 3 of the comparative table [Pls. xxxviii., xxxix.] A few, also, of the principal passages are now subjoined on a larger scale in pl. xix., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., as upon them rests the value with which this inscription will, doubtless, be regarded in Europe as well as in India, on account of the historical information it is calculated to afford.

Once transcribed into modern Nágari a Sanskrit inscription becomes easily intelligible through the aid of a skilful pandit. In the present instance, it has only been necessary to change two or three dubious letters to enable Kamalákánta to explain to me the contents of all the continuous passages which still exist on the stone, and it is fortunately not very difficult to imagine from the context what must have occupied most of the spaces now eroded or mutilated.

TRANSLATION OF THE GIRNÁR BRIDGE INSCRIPTION (APRIL, 1838).

(Be it) accomplished!<sup>1</sup> This very impassable bank at the foot of the hill city (Girinagara<sup>2</sup>). . . . . (15 syllables) with wide expansion and with great

<sup>1</sup> The same invocation, *siddham*, is used in the Skandagupta inscription, pl. i.

<sup>2</sup> The vowels of the word Girinagar are wanting, but the name cannot be mistaken, being modern Girnár.



depth of strong masonry,<sup>1</sup> carried all along the bottom of the said hill, filling up the interstices or irregularities in even layers, up to the height of the bank . . . . . (30) . . . . . by a chosen (architect?) the foundations of the bridge being completed most substantially, by embanking off in various ways the water . . . . . (50) . . . . . by workmen cheered on by kindnesses, and with a vast abundance of materials, was in progress. Then the work continued under favor of the Rājā Mahākshatrpa (the great patron of the warrior class), who was named Swāmi Chastāna . . . . . (and was completed) in the seventy-second year of his son, the Kshatrpa, mindful of the lessons of his instructors, the rājā named Aridāmā,<sup>2</sup> in the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa . . . . . (afterwards) by an immense inundation, brought on by heavy rains, converting the whole surface of the earth into an ocean, and making a mass of mud of the hill of Urjayata (?)— . . . by the tempestuous waves of the Palesinī river, and its several tributaries, the bridge . . . . . (was carried away. Subsequently) . . . . . in conformity with the original design, (it was) repaired with blocks of stone from the hill, remedying the difficulties of the passage way with numerous long beams and trees laid across,—and skilfully uniting them . . . . . (A second time) by the force of the waves, in a fierce hurricane and flood, (it was) broken down and much damaged, . . . . . (after which), with stones and trees and pilcs,<sup>3</sup> and massive beams<sup>4</sup> stretched across, it was again put into complete repair, with an indestructible embankment, having a length of 400 cubits, and in like manner having a breadth of 75 cubits, in a wonderful manner taking out all the water, and laying dry the bed of the river<sup>5</sup> . . . . . by Pūpya Gupta, the territorial treasurer of Rāja Chandragupta Maurya, (this) was caused to be done: and by the Yavana rāja of Asoka Maurya, (named) Tushaspa, it was ornamented with cornice and parapet, and with an artificial canal visible there, over which the bridge also extended, in a manner worthy of the approval of the rājā. . . . . (Afterwards) by him, who, being predestined from the womb to the unceasing and increasing possession of the fortunes of royalty, was invited by all classes waiting upon him for the security of their property—to be their king:—who, from clear intelligence, has not suffered the sacrifice of animal life;—who is faithful to his promises—who is courteous in speech—who in battle, opposed face to face with an equal antagonist, and threatening to discharge his weapons, compassionates his yielding foe . . . . . who gives hope to those of their own accord repairing to him to beseech for succour . . . . . preserving the ancient customs of the town unin-

<sup>1</sup> सन्धि बन्धि, the joining or cementation of masonry, is now called by a similar name *joini*. I suppose the piers or foundations to be intended.

<sup>2</sup> नाक्षरिदाम (sic)—if this is correctly traced, it contains a grammatical error, in the substitution of र for : after न. The name might be read *Atri*; or *Rudra*, were the preceding word *namno*. The date may be read either *varshe dvīsaptatitā (me)* followed by numerals,—or *Ari damni nashte dvīsaptati vatsare*, in the 72nd year after the death of Aridāmā. As there is a space after *dvi*, *sata* may be also supplied, making the date 270.

<sup>3</sup> अनुत्पत्त्यद्धारशरण, the introduction of *Dwāra* here is hardly intelligible, perhaps we should read *anutalpāt vāri sarana ucchraya vidhansini*—the remover of the impediments to the flow of the current from the beams and materials that had fallen into the river.

<sup>4</sup> गुल्मलता—the distinction of *golas* and *lattas* in the modern wood market is, that the former are unsquared, and the latter, squared timbers.

<sup>5</sup> I have given to this obscure passage the best sense in which I think it explicable, as the breadth, 75 cubits, could hardly have been that of the bridge itself.

fringed by the proud and insolent;—who is lord of the countries<sup>1</sup> of Avanti, Anupa (?) Vrija, Anarta, Surashtra . . . . . Savara, Kukára, Kiráta, Tishat, and others, all conquered by his own might, and maintained in their former prosperity, and all their inhabitants, both high and low, converted into obedient subjects—all these countries, under his majesty (forming one empire), and furnishing every object of desire and gratification: who is the powerful leader of an army obeying him fondly as one born with the title of a renowned hero;—who, after more than one conquest of Sátkarni, the king of Dakshinapatha, by merely a threat (of attack), concluded a peace (with him) for the security and protection of his country . . . . . and again set up his royal banner;—who has a natural taste for exercising and improving the strength of his hand, according to the rules<sup>2</sup>;—who is renowned for his skill in the practice of all the celebrated sciences, of grammar, of polity, of singing, of expedients (mechanics?) and the rest, the theory of which he has gone through, and tolerably retained;—who, powerful in horses, elephants, chariots, oxen, weapons, and armour . . . . . exceedingly clever in breaking down the strongholds<sup>3</sup> of his enemies;—who is every day happy in the bestowal of alms and mercy;—who is affable in manners;—whose treasury is abundantly filled with gold, silver, tin, and the lapis lazuli jewel, brought as tokens of his greatness, offered to him as his just and proper measure of tribute; who (understands) the precise etiquette of (courtly terms), their sense, measure, sweetness, rarity . . . . . who is of correct bodily proportion, excellent in gait, color, vigour, and strength, &c.; in form and limb of most auspicious aspect;—who, of his own (merit?), has the title of 'patron of warriors and king of men';—who is crowned with the garland<sup>4</sup> of flowers won in the Swayamvara ceremony (or tournament);—by this great patron of the warriors (or Satrap) Rudra Dámá . . . . . zealous for the increase of his religious fame, and in kindness and compassion for females, and the lame and sick. and with a most liberal expenditure from his own treasury (for the people?);—consenting at once to the petition of the chief citizens;—the construction of this bridge with threefold strength, . . . . . after due inspection, was ordered to be done;—thus.

By the dignified in virtue, the chief minister of the great Satrap . . . . . the road was also lined with trees, conferring pleasure (on the passers by).

Further, by him who, out of favor to the inhabitants of town and country, restored with substantial repairs the excellent condition (of the bridge) to the good subjects of this metropolis,—who made it impregnable to the torrents of water . . . . . ? by the descendant of the Pahlaván tribe, Mavya, the contractor, who has finished his work precisely on the terms of his estimates and plans, so as to give

<sup>1</sup> Most of the countries enumerated here are to be found in the Puránas. Avanti is well known as Oujain; Vrija is the country about Mathura; Anarta is mentioned with Comboja, Sindhu, and Yavana Mágana ('As. Res.' viii. 339, 341), and is therefore probably in the Panjáb:—Kukura is enumerated in the same list with Benares; Savara is called a wild tribe in the south-east. There are three Kirátas named—two (Chandra and Rajya) in the north-east, and one in the south (pp. 339-41) Tishat may perhaps be read Toshali in Katak, of which more hereafter

<sup>2</sup> By inadvertence, I have omitted the repetition of the word *arjita* अर्जितार्जित at the beginning of the 13th line in the lithograph.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *परबलालय*, but the text may be read *बललय* making it 'destroying his enemy's force,' or again it may be *परबललाघवेसीष्टवक्रियेन*, well skilled in diminishing the power of his enemies. (The Nágari transcript has been altered thus.)

<sup>4</sup> In former times, Hindú maidens chose their favourite among a band of suitors by throwing a garland over his neck. A play on the name *Dámá* is intended.

satisfaction,—the strong man and overcomer of difficulties, surrounded by his overseers (*pattis*),—by him, the establisher of religious fame, and the increaser of the glory of his master, was this work executed.”<sup>1</sup>

## OBSERVATIONS.

I have already remarked, that in this inscription, for the first time, we find the name of the great Chandra Gupta, the contemporary of Alexander, recorded on a genuine monument of antiquity. There can be no doubt of his identity, because his family name Maurya is added; and further, the name of his grandson, the no less famous Asoka, immediately follows, designated also by the same family cognomen of Maurya.

On first discovering this important fact, and perusing the mutilated fragment with Kamalākānta pandit, as well as we could make it out, I thought myself in possession of a record of the time at least of Asoka, by whose deputy or viceroy the bridge seemed to have been completed. The long string of complimentary epithets which fill up the bulk of the inscription being in the instrumental case, and thus agreeing with the *Yavana rājena* of the upper sentence.

This turns out not to be precisely the case. A considerable period is embraced in the history of the Girnār bridge, partly anterior and partly subsequent to the time of Chandra Gupta;—thus it seems originally to have been erected by a Prince named Swāmi Chashtāna, a name rather Persian than Indian;—it was then either repaired

<sup>1</sup> *Anushtitam अनुष्ठितं*, accomplished. The same word is used at the foot of the Allahābād inscription—(vol. vi. 978). But I know not how it there eluded the apprehension of the pandit who made me write in lieu of it अवस्थितं ‘remaining firm or fixed.’

or more probably completed by his son Aridámá or Atri-dámá in the month of *Mārgasīrsha* or *Agrahayana*, in the year 72, but the letters which follow are unfortunately illegible, and we are left in the dark as to the era then in use for recording events.

The bridge was then totally destroyed by an inundation of the river Paleshini, a name I cannot discover in the map of Gujarát. Thus temporarily repaired, perhaps by the inhabitants, it was again carried away; and a more thorough reparation was commenced under orders from Chandra Gupta Maurya, by his prefect of the province, Pupya Gupta, and completed in the reign of Asoka, his grandson, thirty or forty years afterwards, by his Greek officer, for so I think we may understand *Yavana rája*. The brahmanical population of the distant province of Suráshtra probably had but little affection for the Buddhist monarch, who is not even honoured in the inscription with the title of *rája*, being simply styled Asoka the Maurya! The name of his Greek employé is not very plain on the cloth; it may be read तुषस्तेन—‘by *Tushaspa*,’ a name evidently of Persian termination, like *Gushtasp*, *Lohrasp*, etc., from *asp*, ‘a horse’ (Sāns. *asva*). Were the name written *Tushasva*, we might have supposed it a translation of the Greek name Philippos, having precisely the same meaning; and we might have argued that some adventurer having, from his military prowess, obtained service under Asoka, had added those new provinces to his empire, which we find noticed in his religious edicts, and had at length usurped a considerable share of power to himself; being, in fact, the very *Yona rája* whom the Muhammadan historians state to have

dispossessed Sinsar Chand's grandson. But I am sensible that I have been frequently guilty of running ahead of prudence with my deductions, and I must consequently draw in a little; for it may be possible, after all, that the word *yavana* does not exist. It is preceded by the letter न, which I have rendered नु, 'further,' 'too;' but the expletive is somewhat out of place, and some may prefer the reading अशोकस्य तोयवनराजिन, 'by Asoka's rája (or lord) of the floods and forests.'

To continue my history of the bridge:—after the last repairs, although no accident is mentioned, we must conclude that such had occurred, and that the bridge was rebuilt by the prince upon whom the largest share of the eulogistic inscription is lavished. The opening passage may perhaps be recoverable on a careful re-examination of the stone. Towards the close, it does indeed mention that on the petition of the inhabitants (backed by female influence?) he strengthened the structure three-fold at his own expense. Now the name of this prince is Rudradámá, destined, it says, from his cradle to be elected to the throne,—his title is Rája Mahá Kshatrapa, the same as that of Aridámá and Swámi Chashtán. We may therefore view him as a scion of the old dynasty, replaced on the throne after a temporary subjugation of the province by the Maurya sovereigns of India proper.

It is curious, and most interesting to those whose attention is engaged in the subject, to observe how different ancient monuments throw light upon one another, and help to their mutual development. The name of Rudradámá recalls to our memory the series of Surashtra coins

described in my journal hardly a year ago. Among the eleven names there distinguished, Rudradámá was conspicuous as following just such a break in the line as would be made by the cause above alluded to. Again, the title then read as Mahá Kritrima, the elected king, on second examination agrees precisely with the present more palpably developed Mahá Kshatrapa. On referring to the plate of Mr. Steuart's coins, sent to me by Capt. Harkness, I find that I so read the word at first, and noted it in pencil, but gave it up on the pandit's ignorance of such having ever been a title in use. Had I possessed at that time a comparative alphabet to consult, I should immediately have perceived that the right hand twist at the foot of the *k* did not *then* denote as it does now the vowel *ri*, which was formerly turned in the contrary sense; but that it was the cerebral *sh* subjoined to the *k* (forming *ksh*), exactly as it occurs on the Junagarh<sup>1</sup> inscription. The *p* also deceived me, being more pointed than the same letter in the word *putra*; but on examination of the coins in my possession, I find it generally rounded off as U, and never crossed below as the *m*.

The word **क्षत्रपः** *kshatrapas*, although wholly unknown as a sovereign title to modern Hindús, and not to be found in their books, is familiar to the reader of the Grecian history of ancient Persia, with merely a softening of the initial letter, as **ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ**, *Satrapa*, the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government. I do not believe that the etymology of this name has ever

<sup>1</sup> I have before remarked that this town seems called after the Greek prince, Yavanagaḍa.

been traced. It is called a Persian title, but the Persian dictionaries only contain ستراب *Satrab*, as an obsolete term for the governor of a province, without explanation of its origin. In Sanskrit it signifies the ruler, feeder, or patron of the *kshatra* or military class; and now that we know the ancient language of Persia east of the Euphrates to have been a near dialect of the Sanskrit, we may conclude that Satrapa had the same signification in Ariana. It is not for me in this place to speculate on the purport of the term in the Persian polity, but it is a fact well known that the effeminate Persians at a very early period were in the habit of governing their numerous tributary provinces by mercenary troops. The same system, and the same denomination of Satrap, was adopted and retained by the Macedonian conqueror, both when Greek and native officers were employed: and instances are frequent enough of the Satraps assuming to themselves independence and a regal title.

The Satrapies of the ancient Persian monarchy are not supposed to have extended across the Indus. If, in Alexander's time, this limit was first transgressed, it was not long before the Bactrian Greeks, or the Parthians, made themselves masters of Sindh, Katch, and Gujarát.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription may incline the learned to conclude that Suráshtra was before then one of the Satrapies of the empire, from the name of Chastan, the Satrap, who is stated to have first erected the bridge; and who must have preceded Chandragupta. Rudra, Viswa, and others of the list are more Indian in sound. It is remarkable

<sup>1</sup> See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 385, for Vincent's authority on this subject.

that in the long string of epithets applied even to Rudradámá, the chosen Satrap, there is none which bears the slightest allusion to Hindú mythology; while, on the other hand, the coins of the whole dynasty bear an emblem which we have hitherto considered either of Mithraic or of Buddhist import. The name Jinadámá (wearing Buddha as a necklace) is decidedly Buddhistic; and the epithet applied in the inscription to Rudradámá, —‘who, from right persuasion, never put any living creature to death,’—proves that Rudra’s opinions were at any rate influenced by the proximity of the important Buddhist establishment at Girnár.

The style of prose eulogy employed by the composer of the inscription puts us much in mind of our old friend, the Allahábád column. It has its corresponding list of countries conquered and equitably ruled; but few of the names are, as might be expected, the same in the two. Avanti or Ujjayani, and Vrija (if the latter name be correctly read) are of the most importance as implying that the elected kings of the Sáh family, or the Satraps of Suráshtra, as we may now more properly call them, had acquired dominion over all the central portion of India, driving back the Magadha sovereigns (who had previously spread their hands to the farthest west), into their own Gangetic limits. The other places, Anartta, Kukura, etc., are probably provinces to the northwest, out of India proper. One other name, however, deserves our particular attention, the king of the Dakhan (Dakshinapatha), who was twice threatened with an invasion, and brought to sue for peace. His name is Satakarni, the same which occurs several times in the lists of the



Andhra kings extracted by Wilford from the Bhágavat and other Puránas. It is a patronymic, from शतशर्षि, 'the hundred eared,' which was, doubtless, the name of the founder of the family; and Satakarni was probably the surname of all the line, though not repeated everywhere in the versified enumeration of the Puránas.

The locality of the Andhra dominion has hitherto been as uncertain as the period of its sway. Wilford says in one place that the Andhra princes 'made a most conspicuous figure on the banks of the Ganges for above 800 years;' <sup>1</sup> again, that Andhra and Koshala (near Kalinga) are used synonymously by some Hindú authors: again, that Srí Carnadeva took the title of king of Tri-kalinga, or of the three shores, to the east and west and south of India.<sup>2</sup> From our inscription we perceive that the general term of Dakshinapatha agrees well with the latter definition, and we may rest content with denoting the Satakarnis as kings of the Peninsula.

Further, as to their age, we find one of the name contemporary with Rudradámá who followed Asoka (we cannot say at what precise distance). Wilford brings them much lower down, from the third to the sixth century after Christ, in order to square the last of their name, Pulomarchi, or Puliman, with the Pulomien<sup>3</sup> of the Chinese.

He is forced to confess, however, that there were Andhras at the beginning of the Christian era, when, says Pliny, 'the Andaræ kings were very powerful in

<sup>1</sup> 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix. p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Quere. Is not Brahman written with this orthography in Chinese?

India, having no less than thirty fortified cities, an army of 100,000 men and 1000 elephants.<sup>1</sup>

We must, therefore, consent to throw back the Andhras; and, instead of requiring them to fall into a general and single line of paramount Indian kings, as Wilford would insist, let them run in a parallel line, along with the lines of Suráshtra, Ujjain, Magadha, and others, individuals of each line in turn obtaining by their talent, prowess, or good fortune, a temporary ascendancy over their neighbours: thus at length we may hope to fulfil Capt. Tod's prophecy,—‘let us master the characters on the columns of Indrapreshta, Prayag, and Mewar, on the rocks of Junagarh, at Bijollie on the Aravulli, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions (in regard to Indian history).’<sup>2</sup>

[Prof. H. H. Wilson has most obligingly favored me with the subjoined revised translation of the interesting monumental record which forms the subject of the preceding remarks. The text upon which the interpretation is based is derived from an independent Devanágari transcript of the original, I had prepared with much care from the improved fac-simile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Roy. As. Soc. for April, 1842. Prof. Wilson has of course referred to the amended lithographed transcript of this

<sup>1</sup> The name Sáragan, given in the Periplus as of a sovereign that had formerly reigned at Kalliena (near Bombay), has some resemblance to Satakarni; but I will not build upon such uncertain ground.

<sup>2</sup> Tod's 'Rájasthan,' i. 45: he gives a curious derivation, by the way, of the name of Junagarh:—"The 'ancient city,' *par éminence*, is the only name this old capital, at the foot of, and guarding, the sacred mount Girnár, is known by. Abul Fazl says it had long remained desolate and unknown, and was discovered by mere accident. Tradition even being silent, they give it the emphatic name of *Juna*, 'old,' *gurh*, 'fortress.' I have little doubt that it is the Asildurga or Asilgurh of the Grahilote annals, where it is said that prince Asil raised a fortress, called after him, near to Girnár, by the consent of the Dabi prince, his uncle."

writing, and verified my doubtful readings. His Sanskrit text and commentaries will be reserved for separate publication, in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' The matured result is all that I need desire to present to my readers.—E. T.]

REVISED TRANSLATION OF THE SÁH INSCRIPTION ON THE GIRNÁR ROCK.

(1). This perfect, delightful, beautiful (causeway?) from Girinagar to the foot of . . . . . (was constructed) of . . . stone (and in) breadth, length, and height, was firmly built as a public road . . . . . along the skirt of the mountain . . . . Emulous<sup>1</sup> . . . . formed . . . .

(2). . . . . by that artificial causeway, and still renowned.

(3 and 4). . . . . remains in a great heap . . . then this . . . in the year two (and) seventy (?) of the royal Mahahshatrapa<sup>2</sup> Rudra Daman, whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of the royal Mahahshatrapa, of well selected name, Swamī Chandana.<sup>3</sup>

(5). In the dark half of Marga Sirsha, the earth was converted as it were into a sea, by heavily raining Panjanyu, so that the golden sand of the mountain (was washed away?).

(6). And by the exceeding violent currents of the Palesini, and other rivers, destroying, as if at the end of the world, all that sought an asylum, even on the highest parts of the hill, as well as along the skirt, and bringing down the trees from the peak, the causeway (was broken down?).

(7). And this being accompanied by a terrible strong wind, the water rushed down like a cataract, sweeping away the stones, trees, shrubs, creepers, along the river, by (whose joint efforts) four hundred cubits (were thrown down). . . . .

(8). And seventy cubits (more) broken by the torrent . . . . . was caused to be made by Pushpagupta, the chief artificer<sup>4</sup> of the Maurya King Chandragupta, by Tushtasyenu, the Yavana rāja . . . . . of Asoka, the Maurya, through good fortune was adorned<sup>5</sup> . . . . . through that restoration, the rāja (announced) to all castes having come to see the causeway, for their security, that by him discontinuance was made of putting men to death, by expelling the breath of life.

(10). By observing this engagement, he (overcame all enemies, and extended his rule) over many well affected countries, conquered by his prowess.

(11). Both in the east and west, as . . . . . avanti . . . . . ānarta Surashtra . . . kukkura Aparāutā, and all the nishadas.

(12). Having repeatedly overcome Satakarni, the lord of the South, he concluded an alliance (with him?).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently alluding to the Selubandha of Rama, to which that of Girinagar is compared.

<sup>2</sup> Rājno Mahahshatrapa may also mean 'the great Satrap of the King.'

<sup>3</sup> But there is room left, by defects in the inscription, for one or more names between Rudra Daman and Swamī Chandana.

<sup>4</sup> The words are Sashti Yagusyena, possibly for Sreshtiya Gusyena, or the last may be intended for Guptena, as if there was a Sashtigupta after Chandragupta.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription records the repair of the causeway by Rudra Dama. Here, apparently, it relates its having been built by some officer, or by the successor of Chandragupta; and repaired or beautified by the Yavana rāja (?) in the time of Asoka.

As an atonement for leading my readers into this long digression, I now present them with an engraved plate of all the varieties of the Suráshtra group of coins yet found. There is one new name added through the diligence of Lieut. E. Conolly. The rest are already known; but I subjoin their corrected readings for the satisfaction of my numismatical friends. The fact of their having a Grecian legend and head on the obverse is now explained, and the date of their fabrication is determined so far that we may place some of the early reigns in the second and third centuries before Christ: to what later period they descend we may also hope to ascertain through the means of other coins which will come to be described along with the third inscription from Junagarh, as soon as we obtain a correct facsimile of it. I may here so far satisfy curiosity, as to state that this third inscription,—the longest, and in some respects the best preserved, though from the smallness and rudeness of the letters it is very difficult to decipher,—is in a more modern character, that allotted to the third century after Christ, or the Gupta alphabet; and that in the opening lines I find an allusion to Skanda Gupta, one of the Gupta family, whose name has also been found upon a new series of the Suráshtra coins. The words are ... **कीर्त्ति विगुण नृपतिः**  
**स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथुश्रीः चतुर.....** (Vide 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pl. xix., and vol. i. *ante*, p. 247).

We shall thus be able to string together by means of the inscriptions and coins of ancient Suráshtra a continued series of names and *dates* from the time of the Maurya dynasty to that of the Gupta dynasty of Kanauj, which terminates the catalogues of the Puránas.

*Dates*, too, did I say? Yes, I am in hopes of adding even actual dates to the series, for I have been fortunate enough to light upon a clue to the ancient forms of the Sanskrit numerals, and to discover their presence on the very series of Suráshtrian coins to which I have been just alluding. But here again I must solicit a little patience while I describe the grounds of this new assertion.

#### ON THE ANCIENT SANSKRIT NUMERALS.

The most ancient mode of denoting number in the Sanskrit languages, as in the Greek and Latin, was by the use of letters in alphabetical order. This system we find prevalent in all ancient Sanskrit works, as well as in the Páli, the Tibetan, and other derivate systems. There do not, indeed, appear to be any numerals peculiar to the Páli. In their sacred records the words are always written at length; they have also the symbolical words of the Sanskrit astronomical works, and what is called the *Varna sankhya*, or numeral classification of the alphabet. The numerals now employed in Ceylon, Ava, Cambodia, Siam, have hardly the slightest affinity to one another.

When this system was exchanged for that of the decimal or cipher notation does not appear to be known, or to have been investigated by the learned. Up to the ninth or tenth century of our era, the Nágari numerals extant on numerous monuments do not differ materially from those now in use.

In the Gupta class of inscriptions, as far as I know, no numerals had as yet been found until I noticed

some doubtful and unknown symbols on the Bhilsa monument. In the Buddhist pillar inscriptions\* the dates where they occurred were uniformly expressed at full length.

A few months ago I was engaged in transcribing and reading with my pandit some copper-plate grants supposed to be of the third century, found in Gujarát by Dr. Burn, whose beautiful copies of them I hope shortly to make public. In one of these, the date was entered at full in the words *संवत्सरे शतत्रयेचतुर्विंशत्यधि के* 'in the *samvat* year three hundred and ninety-four.' A few lines below this the word *॥ संवत्सर ॥* again occurred, followed by three symbols,<sup>1</sup> *d, m, f*, which must, of course, be numerals: they are more exactly copied in pl. xl., and, according to the preceding statement, should be 394.

On a second plate in the same manner, the date in words was *संवत्सर शत त्रयेश्चिख्यधिके कार्तिक शुद्धपञ्चदश्या*, 'in the 15th of Kartik, *samvat* 380,' and in figures *सं, d, l, कार्तिक शु*

On a third plate the date in words was *शतत्रयपञ्चाशित्यधिके कार्तिक पौर्णमास्ये*, 'Kartik full moon, *samvat* 385,' and in figures *d, l, i, and o, i*, as before: in both of which the same symbols occur for 1, 3, 8, and 5; and the latter figure, much resembling the ancient letter *na*, but slightly altered, was again observed on a fourth plate sent me by Dr. Burn, from Gujarát, which did not contain the date in words, thus, *सं, d, k, h*.

<sup>1</sup> [In the original text of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' fac-similes of these numerals are inserted in each place; as these are repeated in full in Prinsep's own Plates No. xl. of the present series, and are re-copied and classified in my supplemental Lithograph, pl. xl. *a*, I have not thought it necessary to have these types re-cut, but have supplied their places by italic letters, whose several correspondents are duly defined in the new transcript of pl. xl. *a*.]

Much pleased with this new train of discovery, I turned to Mr. Wathen's paper in the fourth volume of the Journal, in which I remembered his interpretation of the date on a similar grant by Sri Dhara Sena, as being in the ninth year of the *Valabhi Samvat* of Tod, corresponding with A.D. 328. Here the translator had no written entry to guide him, nor had he any clue whereby to recognize the numerals which followed the abbreviated *Samvat*, thus, *d*, *c*, which we now perceive to be 300, + some unknown unit. I immediately wrote to Mr. Wathen and to Dr. Burn, requesting them to examine carefully the dates of all other plates in their possession, and from them in return I received all the examples which are inserted in plate xl. From the whole series combined, we may venture to assign a certain value to the 1, the 3, the 4, the 5, the 8, and the 9.

The last of these, I could not but remember as the symbol on one of the Bhilsa inscriptions, which led to so many conjectures a year ago. In the form of  $\oplus$  we have evidently our *m*, or the year 9, but the three strokes at the side would appear to modify its value, or to be themselves a numeral, perhaps the *o*. Then, as we find the preceding *k* has not a dot above it, we may use that also as a numeral, and understand the whole *k*, *m*, = as 2 or 6, or 790 according to the value to be hereafter assigned to *k*.

Again, in the second Bhilsa inscription ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., p. 458, pl. xxvi.), the fig. 3, with another, is perceived following the word सम्बत्, and the last letter may possibly be a numeral also. In Mr. Ommanney's Multai inscription, two numerals of the







### *Sanskrit Numerals.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Modern Devanāgarī	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Devanāgarī of 11 <sup>th</sup> century	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Bengalī, modern	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮	৯	০
Assamese cursive 17 <sup>th</sup> cent	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮	৯	০
Nepalase cursive ditto	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Kashmirian, from an ancient Manuscript . }	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Tibetan	༡	༢	༣	༤	༥	༦	༧	༨	༩	༠
Burmese	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၀
Ceylonese	අ	බ	ඊ	උ	ඌ	ඍ	ඎ	ඏ	ඐ	එ
Karnāṭa and Telinga	౧	౨	౩	౪	౫	౬	౭	౮	౯	౦
Pāli letter numerals in the Burmese character	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၀
Initial letters { ancient modern	අ	ආ	ඇ	ඈ	ඉ	ඊ	උ	ඌ	ඍ	ඎ
	අ	ආ	ඇ	ඈ	ඉ	ඊ	උ	ඌ	ඍ	ඎ

*Ancient Numerals on Copper-plate Grants*

*4<sup>th</sup> Karu, 1<sup>st</sup> Burn in words*    **సంఖ్య కర్తవ్యచక్రవర్తి** (*samvatsara* 394)  
*repeated in figures*    "సంఖ్య" **శ్రీ**

Vol. 2. In words and figures ፳፬ (1880) . A<sup>o</sup> 3 ፵ = ፭፭ ፩ (1885)

*A<sup>x</sup> & D<sup>x</sup> only in figures*    *མི་ཅན་ལྟ་*.    *A<sup>x</sup> 5, d<sup>x</sup> I.A.S. IV 477*    *མི་ཅོ*

*V<sup>o</sup>6 P<sup>o</sup>*      સંસ્કૃત યોગશુદ્ધ =      *Samvat 375 or 30 ardra purusha*

*Bhilai Inscription No. 7. J. A. S. VI 454 or samvat 503 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय 79. Bhadrupada di.*

*No. 8, second, less perfect*      མཉམ་པ་པོ་གྲུབ་པའི་ཀློང་།

*Numerals on the Satrap Coins of Surashtra.*

*Subvours, 9*    4 28    10 5204    11 309    12 7:0    13 7α:

Copper de 13 (Stacy) K 9? 14 (Tonelly) 7 H?

Send to : ၇၀၃ : ၇၀၂ : ၇၀၁ many wheat date as

ANCIENT NUMERALS *restored* 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040



same class were observed ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 869.)

It may also be remembered that in my notice of the Suráshtra coins (vol. i, p. 433), I remarked behind the head on the obverse, besides a legend in corrupted Greek characters, a few strange marks, not at all like either Greek or Sanskrit alphabetical characters; to these I now re-directed my attention, and was happy to perceive that they too were in fact numerals of the same forms, and of equal variety with those on the copper-plate grants.

I have arranged at the foot of pl. xl. those specimens in my own cabinet, on which the figures are best developed.

Upon bringing the subject to the notice of Dr. Burn, at Kaira, he wrote me that he had already remarked these symbols on another very numerous class of old coins, found in the ruins of the Gujarát towns. They are made of lead or tin; and have on one side, in general, a bull, and, on the other, the triple pyramid which forms the central symbol of the silver hemi-drachmas of the Suráshtra satraps. I have not found space to introduce them into the present plate, but fig. 22, pl. xxxvii. will serve as a representative of the whole class. It is a finely preserved copper coin, most opportunely discovered and presented to me by Lieut. E. Conolly, from Ujein. It bears the numerical symbols *d*, *k*, very distinctly marked under the Chaitya symbol. Among the facsimiles of the leaden coins, I find *d*, *l*, :, and *d*, *m*, :, with barely room for a third figure, but in one the reading is *d*, *j*, *g*, so that we may venture to

place them all in the fourth century of some yet unknown era.

Among the silver coins the variety is greater : fig. 23, which I find by the reverses is a coin of Rudra Sáh, has the year *d, l, h*.

Another, fig. 26, also of Rudra Sáh, has the third figure well developed *d, l, a*.

Fig. 24, of the son of Rudra Dámá (the repairer of the Gírnár bridge), has apparently the numbers, *d, m, :*, or 390.

Fig. 12, from Ujein, Rudra Sáh II. has *d, d, b*, the first three rather faint. In a coin of Viswa Sáh, given to me by Mr. Wathen, similar to fig. 9, of the plate, the date is *d, b, g*.

Fig. 25, is a well brought out date *d, j, :*, on a coin of Atri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, in my cabinet : the coins of the same prince in Mr. Steuart's plate, and one also of Aga Dámá shew traces of the same second figure.

Now, although the succession of the Satraps, or Sáh family, as given in volume i., p. 429, rests but on slender evidence in some points ; still, where the names of father and son are consecutive, we may rest with confidence on it in fixing the priority of such of our newly found numerals as occur on them respectively.

We must, for the sake of perspicuity, repeat the list, with the addition of the dates as far as we have traced them :

#### REGAL SATRAPS OF SURASHTRA.

- 1 K. Rudra Sáh, son of a private individual, Swámi Jina Dámá.
- 2 K. Aga Dámá, his son.  
(Here the connection is broken.)
- 3 MK. Dámá Sáh (no coins.)

- 4 MK. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh.  
 5 K. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.  
 6 MK. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá, *Samvat*, *b*, (?) *l*, *a*, and *d*, *a*, :.  
 7 K. Viswa Sáh, another son of Vira Dámá ditto *d*, *b*, *g*.  
 8 K. Rudra Sáh, son of M.K. Rudra Sáh, ditto *d*, *d*, *b*.  
 9 MK. Atri Dámá, son of M. K. Rudra Sáh ditto *d*, *j*, :.  
 10 MK. Viswa Sáh, son of Atri Dámá.  
 (Here the connection is broken.)  
 11 MK. Swámi Rudra Dámá (no coins.)  
 12 MK. Swámi Rudra Sáh, his son, *Samvat*, *d*, *l*, *h*, and *d*, *m*, : '.

The two last names being insulated from the rest, were on the former occasion placed by me before Dámá Sáh, because the form of the letter *j* seemed of the earlier type. Since, then, I have learnt that the turning up of the central stroke of the *j* constitutes a vowel inflection. I now, therefore, bring the two Swámis to the foot of the list, on the plea that all figures must have precedence of the 9 or *m*. In the same manner we may now argue that *b* precedes *d*, this figure *j*, and the latter again *l*.

To aid in prosecuting my inquiry, I begged Kamalákánta to point out any allusions to the forms of the ancient numerals he might have met with in grammars or other works; but he could produce but very few instances to the point. One of these is to be met with in the *Kâtantra Vyakarana*, a work of Belála Sena's time, where the conformation of the four is alluded to in these words,

स्त्रज युगाकृतिश्चतुरङ्गो विसर्गश्च

Like a woman's breast is the figure four, and like the visarga;

and the visarga is further explained by a passage in the *Tantrá-bhīdhāna*, a more modern work still, dated in 1460 *Saka*.

**द्विः स्वाहानलप्रिया उकारेणवर्णसाम्यात् विसर्ग**

The name of visarga is 'two *ths*,' 'Swadha,' *anapriya*,—because the visarga has the form of the letter *h* (O).

This merely alludes to the modern form of the 4, which exactly resembles the Bengálí visarga.

The oldest allusion he could furnish, was the following on the form of the 6, from Pingala's 'Prákrit Grammar.'

**कुरुवङ्कदुमत्तो अक्षोलङ्गहोर् सुवृक्क अलो**

"The *guru* mark<sup>1</sup> is like the figure 6, crooked, and of two strokes; it is called also *lahu* (*laghu*), it is also denoted by one stroke or one minute."

This passage evidently alludes to a form of 6 more resembling the Bengálí than the present Nágari type.

Another channel through which I was in hopes of tracing the ancient cyphers, was the numerical system of those Indian alphabets which bear most resemblance to the forms of the earlier centuries, such as those of Kashmír, etc. In the specimens of these, which I have introduced into the plate for the purpose of comparison, it will be seen that the three has certainly considerable affinity to our *d*; while the one and five approach nearly to our *a* and *h*. There is a faint resemblance in others of the group; but some again are totally changed.

The Tibetan numerals (of the seventh century) do not yield much more insight into the matter. They are, we may say, one remove backwards from the Bengálí numbers—the 1, 2, 3, and 5, only agreeing better with the Nágari forms. The 1, however, agrees exactly with one of the ancient figures on the coins, and this has been my inducement to consider the latter as 1.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. The mark used to denote a short quantity in prosody and in music, which is formed ॐ.

Upon regarding attentively the forms of many of the numerals, one cannot but be led to suppose that the initial letters of the written names were, many of them, adopted as their numerical symbols. Thus, in the Tibetan, 5 ཨ, we see the ཨ or *p* of the same alphabet, the initial of *pancha*. The same may be said of the Kashmírian, and the modern Hindí form ५, and indeed in some measure of the ancient forms *h* and *i*.

Again, the Tibetan ༩ ཉ, resembles the *ch* ཅ of that alphabet: the Ceylonese form is exactly the *ch* of its alphabet, and there is an equally marked connection between the Nágari ६ and the ६ *chha*, which is the common name of this numeral.

On the same principle, in the absence of other argument, we may set down the *k* of our new series as 7, being identical with ७, the initial of *sapta*.

The modern ३ ३, has no small likeness to the *tr* of the older Nágari alphabets; nor does the 2 differ much from *d*; but these resemblances may be more ideal than real; for, by an equally facile process of comparison, they might be both derived from the Arabic figures, as might other members of the series, as 7 and 8, in the Nágari of the Nepalese coins particularly.

The 9 of the Tibetan, Bengálí, Nepalese, and Burmese numerals is precisely the *l* of the ancient alphabets. Now, in the allotment of the vowels numerically, the *li* represents 9; but it would appear far-fetched to adopt one insulated example of derivation from such a source.

The 9, however, of the Suráshtra grants and coins is of a totally different order. It resembles the four-petalled flower of the *bél*, or Indian jasmine; and in the copper



plates we find it absolutely represented with a stalk (see No. 1, of pl. xl). Seeking the name of this flower in Sanskrit, *mallika*, the pandit reminded me that one of its synonymes was *nava mallika*, which the dictionaries derive from *nava*, 'praised, excellent,' but which may now receive a much more natural definition as the 'jasmine flower resembling the figure 9.'<sup>1</sup>

It is further to be remarked that, in many of the ancient systems, separate symbols were used to denote ten, twenty, etc. in combination with the nine units severally. The curious compound figure seemingly used for the 1 of 15 in the two cases quoted above *o* may be of this sort: indeed it somewhat resembles the Ceylonese ten (see plate). On this point, however, I can offer no demonstration, nor any other argument, save that we have already more than nine symbols to find accommodation for as numerals.

With all these helps, and analogies, I have endeavoured to arrange the nine old numerical symbols in their proper order in the accompanying plate, so as also to meet the conditions of the succession of dates on the coins of the satraps of Suráshtra. In this I am far from being confident of having succeeded; but having once, as it were, broken the ice, we may soon hope for a more perfect solution of the curious problem, through the multitude of new, or rather old, monuments which seem to emerge from oblivion just at the time they are wanted, under the united efforts of the Society's associates in central India. Once having proved that it was customary to date the

<sup>1</sup> [Prinsep's usually quick perception seems to have failed him here, as the *Lantse Numerals*, in vol. xvi., 'Asiatic Researches,' p. 420, give almost the exact normal forms of 80 and 90, as found in the inscriptions and coin legends.]

coin of that early period, we must direct attention again to the monograms on the Bactrian, Indo-Scythic,\* and Kanauj coins, which may turn out to be also used numerically.

The numbers, then, which, from comparison with foreign and modern native series, as well as the other considerations above given, I have finally adopted, are as follows :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>o</i>	:
Varities ?	<i>c</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>i</i>				<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	

Before concluding this division of my theme, I may be expected to explain in what era the dates of the Suráshtra coins can be expressed, so as to place Swámi Rudra Dámá, whom we perceive in the inscription to have followed at some reasonable distance Asoka himself, at the end of the fourth century, or about the year 390. If the Vikramáditya or Samvat be here intended, he will fall after the close even of the Arsakian dynasty of Persia, when the Greek was disused, and the arts had greatly deteriorated ; when, moreover, the form of the Sanskrit character had undergone considerable change. If we take the Seleucidan epoch, which might have been introduced in the provinces tributary to Syria, Rudra will have reigned in A.D. 89. If, lastly, out of deference to Asoka's temporary supremacy in the Gujarát peninsula, we take the Buddhist era, then 543—390 will leave 153 B.C. about a century after Asoka, and in every respect the period I should like to adopt, were it possible to establish any more certain grounds for its preference. The most perplexing circumstance is that the grants of the

Balabhî dynasty are also dated in the third (or fourth) century, and that it is hardly possible to consider their dominion as contemporary with those of the satraps. For them, indeed, we must adopt the Vikramáditya era, whatever may be determined in regard to the one before us.

[Following out the view of the question suggested by Prinsep's remarks at p. 77, in 1848 I succeeded in demonstrating that these signs were uniformly independent symbolical numerals, each denoting in itself a given number, irrespective of any relative collocation;<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, that the *d* was equivalent to 300, wherever it might be found; and likewise, that the *l* and *m* stood for 80 and 90 respectively, whatever position they might chance to occupy. I then proceeded to distinguish those symbols of the Sâh coin dates that declared themselves severally units, tens, or hundreds, by their fixed place, in the order of value, which was always fitly maintained, notwithstanding that the figures themselves clearly could not change their signification by any relative re-arrangement. Beyond this, I cannot claim to have advanced the enquiry in any essential degree. The important aid that otherwise might have served me in the sequent classification of the numbers—the test of their recurrence on the coins of the Sâh kings—was altogether wanting, from the fact that the order of succession of those princes was in itself undetermined.

A re-examination of the entire subject was therefore sufficiently called for; and it is possible that the new data, which have lately become available, may contribute materially to solve the general problem of the system under which the ancient Indian scheme of notation was primarily conceived.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xii., p. 33.]

<sup>2</sup> [M. Reinaud's 'Mémoire sur l'Inde' was published after the appearance of my Essay in 1838. I therefore transcribe the information contributed by that work towards the general subject. 'Albyrouny a consacré un passage de son Traité sur l'Inde aux chiffres employés de son temps, chez les Indiens, avec une valeur de posi-

The most important elucidation that this subject has received since Jas. Prinsep's original discovery, consists in the 'Observations on the dates found in the cave inscriptions at Nasik,' by the Rev. J. Stevenson.<sup>1</sup> Among these records are to be found no less than twenty-eight figures, or combinations of figures, usually appended to the written exposition of the given value defined at length in the body of the text;<sup>2</sup> the lower numbers are suffi-

tion. Ces chiffres sont appelés par nous *chiffres Arabes*, et les Arabes les nomment *chiffres indiens*. Albyrouny s'exprime ainsi : Les Indiens, à la différence de nous, ne se servent pas des lettres de leur alphabet pour indiquer des nombres. Mais, de même que l'alphabet varie suivant les provinces, les chiffres changent aussi ; les indigènes les nomment *anka* अङ्क. Les chiffres dont nous faisons usage sont empruntés à ce que l'on a trouvé de plus convenable chez eux. Du reste, les formes sont indifférentes, pourvu qu'on s'entende de part et d'autre. Dans le Cachemire, on ne se sert pas de traits particuliers pour exprimer les nombres ; on a adopté les signes employés par les Chinois. Mais un point sur lequel tous les Indiens sont d'accord, c'est de procéder d'après le système décimal.

M. Reinaud continue : Arrêtons nous un moment sur les paroles d'Albyrouny : Les Indiens, a-t-il dit, ne se servent pas des lettres de leur alphabet pour exprimer des nombres. Il existe un traité sanscrit, composé par Aryabhata, dans les premiers siècles de notre ère ; et dans ce traité, comme cela se pratiquait chez les Grecs, les Juifs, et plus tard chez les Arabes, les nombres sont exprimés par les lettres de l'alphabet ayant une valeur numérale. Apparemment, le procédé employé par Aryabhata était tombé en désuétude au temps d'Albyrouny. Néanmoins, les traités scientifiques composés par Brahma-Gupta, au vii. siècle de notre ère, et par les écrivains postérieurs, ne supposent pas, en général, l'usage des chiffres ; les nombres sont exprimés par des mots susceptibles d'être rattachés à une quantité quelconque. Albyrouny ajoute qu'on ne pouvait se livrer à la lecture des traités consacrés à l'astronomie, si l'on ne s'était d'abord rendu un compte exacte de cette manière de compter. . . . M. Reinaud sums up his inferences to the following effect, 'Il semblerait résulter de l'emploi des lettres, de l'alphabet par Aryabhata, pour exprimer les nombres, que dans les premiers siècles de notre ère, les Indiens mêmes, en employant ces lettres avec une valeur de position, n'avaient pas encore eu l'idée de recourir à des signes particuliers. A l'égard de la méthode mise en usage par Brahma-Gupta, elle s'explique suffisamment, d'un côté par l'habitude ou les indigènes ont été de tout temps de faire mystère de leur savoir ; de l'autre, parce que des mots significatifs s'incorporent mieux dans un vers que des chiffres.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. Bombay branch, Roy. As. Soc.', July, 1853, p. 35. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' 1854, Note, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> I could have desired that the facsimiles of these inscriptions should have been more calculated to command our faith in their exact rendering of the originals, but I observe that Dr. Stevenson himself does not place any great-reliance upon the transcripts, as he remarks, 'I trust also to be able to compare all the published copies of the facsimiles with the inscriptions themselves, which, in respect to those at Nasik, I have been unable as yet to do, so as at least to get as perfect a copy of them as can be obtained in the present state of the rocks. As the facsimiles are the property of Government, and executed by another gentleman (Lieut. P. F. Brett), I have done nothing more than, to the best of my ability, see that the lithographer executed his task faithfully.'—Bombay Journal, 1853, p. 57. And again, p. 50, Dr. S. observes,

\* Voy. un mémoire de feu M. Whish, intitulé, On the alphabetical notation of the Hindus ('Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras,' London, 1827).

ciently simple and obvious, and are only perplexing in the multiplicity of forms some of their exponents are seen to take; the larger sums on the other hand, are expressed by a crude and uncertain method, under which the amount has often to be read backwards in the current line of writing; thus, the generic symbol for *thousands* is ordinarily entered first, that for *hundreds* second, while the specific decimal, or unit cipher, which has to determine the value of the whole, is placed last in the order of alignment, followed by the rest of the inscription. At times again, the mark for *hundreds* is indifferently inserted before or after the figure which indicates the total.<sup>1</sup> If, by any possibility, further argument were required to that end—this double system of arranging the ciphers would alone establish that they were incapable of having their value enhanced or diminished by change of place.

Dr. Stevenson's point of departure, like my own on a previous occasion, was from Jas. Prinsep's investigations of April, 1838 (here reprinted); he does not seem to have seen my paper of 1848, and therefore expresses no opinion either for or against my position, but continues to follow Prinsep in reading '7 as *three*, in preference to *three hundred*; at the same time that he admits that the triple horizontal lines of the normal 3 fully suffice to express the lower number—for which indeed he has a second variant—and notwithstanding that his own materials contribute separate and independent signs for *ten*, *twenty*, *thirty*, and *one hundred*: the latter being specifically distinguished from the various generic signs for *hundreds*.



The next item I have to advert to, is the idea advanced that the Satrap numerals owe their forms to the Bactrian alphabet.<sup>2</sup> This supposition I can scarcely bring myself to entertain.



<sup>1</sup> It is difficult for me at present to say whether the frequent omissions of the point for  $\text{॥}$  and other anomalies, belong to the original, or are the faults of the facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> Nasik Inscription, No. 2, plate 7.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Stevenson remarks, 'In the Satrap inscriptions, the numerals used to express the different sums of money there mentioned are peculiar. At first I could determine nothing about their origin, but on a careful examination I found a strik-

The assumption is chiefly based upon the similarity traced in certain forms of the figures to the original letters of the Arian writing; in order to carry out the comparison however, very great liberties have to be taken with the normal forms of the characters themselves—still very incompletely ascertained—and even these, rather forced identifications, are confined to a very limited proportion of the entire suite of the numbers; while on the other hand many of the figures are clearly and indubitably composed of letters of the identical alphabet in which the inscriptions at large are expressed. That these ciphers in their original constitution actually were indigenous letter symbols seems to be further established by other more recent inscriptions, where such forms are frequently seen to follow the progressive modification of the associate alphabet. I omit the dry details incident to the verification of each symbol, referring my readers to the 'Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.,' in which the original paper is to be found.<sup>1</sup>

ing resemblance between the character denoting a thousand (*Ṣahasra*) and the Bactrian S reversed. This induced me to examine the rest of them, and I think it exceedingly probable that they are all derived from that source. The Bactrian Tz, pronounced in Sanskrit J or *Dsch*, will represent well the figure, which is first in 5 or 10 (*Dasha*). The sign for 5 (*Pancha*) is the P, or the old Indian  inverted. The Bactrian double T also approaches very nearly to the 8 of our inscriptions, as if to denote . It would appear, then, that the Bactrian letters had been introduced into the Satrap Indian inscriptions as numerical ciphers. The system, also, is the ancient Roman and Greek one, that in which there are different signs for the 1 in tens, hundreds, and thousands; our present decimal notation being, as I have noticed elsewhere, a comparatively modern invention of the Scindian merchants of the middle ages ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay,' vol. iv.) Further research will probably show, as Mr. Prinsep has done with a few of them already, that the old Indian numerals are also ancient letters.'—Jour. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay, vol. v., p. 39.

<sup>1</sup> The Gupta units vary somewhat from the Sâh exemplars, and hence demand a passing notice. As yet I have only been able to discover three definite and complete forms,—the *one*, which is shaped as an ordinary hyphen, the  = *four*, and the curious figure that occurs on coin No. 57, pl. ii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. xii., which in its outline follows the design of an alphabetical . But, in treating of Gupta numbers, I must fairly warn my readers of a preliminary difficulty that I have experienced in regard to the correct point from whence their exponents should be viewed. The Nasik inscriptions display the symbol for *one hundred* written perpendicularly; and if that be the correct direction of the cipher in the general alignment, the Gupta dates running in front of the profile of the King ought to be read Mongol fashion, like the parallel names of the monarchs of the Gupta race, as usually expressed on the field of their gold currency. On the silver pieces of the Kumâra Gupta, however, whether the sign for 100 may be reversed or not, the arrangement of the tens and units clearly demonstrates that the whole must be read as consecutive rather than as superposed figures, while, strange to say, the dates on the Skanda Gupta

In conclusion, I sum up the results of the present state of the enquiry by the exhibition of the lithographed plate of figures [xl. a] regarding which I have merely to add, that the second compartment includes all such symbols, whether lapidary, numismatic or graven on metal, that I am generally prepared to recognise. The third column reproduces Prinsep's primary conjectural arrangement of the ciphers and their supposed variants. The remaining spaces are filled in with the products of Dr. Stevenson's investigations, but I must warn my readers, that I have taken a double liberty with that author's materials; on the one hand, I have copied my examples of each cipher from the transcripts of the original facsimiles of Lieut. Brett, which are lithographed at large in the Bombay Journal, in preference to following the outlines entered in the companion table of numbers given in that Journal, and supposed to be compiled from the same sources.

On the other hand I have ventured to insert, subject to correction, two signs for 2, which Dr. Stevenson does not definitively acknowledge in his list; but which I obtain from his rendering of inscription No. vi.<sup>1</sup> The third figure for *hundreds*, under the Satrap heading, is also of my introduction, under similar authority.—E.T.]

#### EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

Fig. 1, (from Steuart's plates), a silver hemidrachma.

Fig. 11, a coin belonging to Mulla Feroz of Bombay.

Fig. 13, a coin found by Capt. Prescott at Palhanpur in Gujarát, presented to me by Mr. Wathen.

These three coins have all the same legend, but No. 11 exhibits the application of the vowel *i* in two places, which the others want: the legend thus completed is,

*Rājña Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāhasa, Svdmī Jina Dāmdputrasa,*

'Of the Royal Satrap, Rudra Sāh, the son of the lord Jina Dāmā.

and Buddha Gupta coins seem to necessitate a supposition of a contrary mode of distribution. I have entered the outlines of the Gupta numerals, both tens and units, in accordance with this somewhat arbitrary arrangement, leaving the point fairly open to correction, when more numerous and more perfect specimens of this coinage may decisively instruct us on the general question.

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc. of Bombay,' vol. v. p. 53.







# Ancient Indian Numerals.

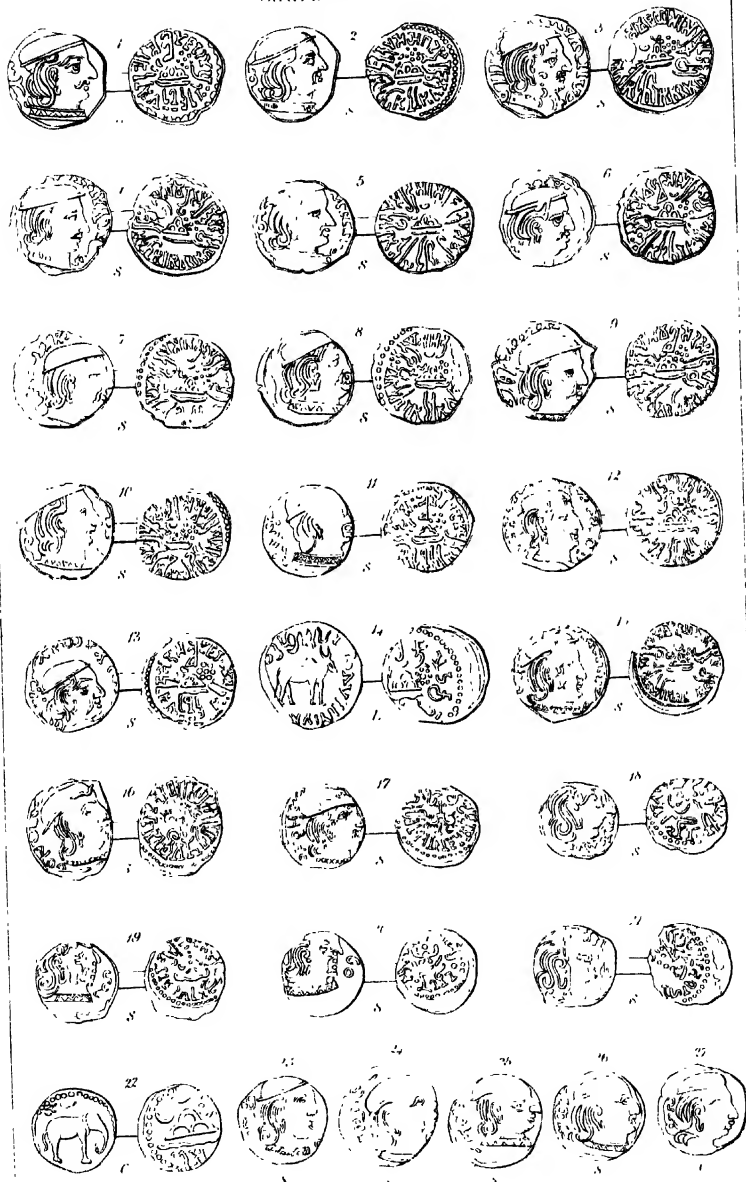
Pl. XL.

No's	Numerals	Prinsep	Stevenson.			
			Fractions	Old Indian	Satrap	
1	-	१ <sup>a</sup>	-		५५	1
2	=	०६ ०८	=		७३ ०३	2
3	≡ =-	७१ ७८	≡	७७	५	3
4	५५५५५	५१ ८५		५५५५	५	4
5	५५५५५५	५१ ५१	५	५	५	5
6	५	५१ ५१	५	५	५	6
7	५ ५	५१ ५१	५	५	५	7
8	५	५१		५	५	8
9	५ ५	५१ ५१	५	५	५	9
10	५ ५ ५ ५	५१ ५१	५ ५ ५ ५	५ ५ ५ ५	५ ५ ५ ५	10
20	० ०		० ०			20
30	५ ७ ०		५			30
40	५	<p>Gupta Numerals</p> <p>Units - . . ५ ५ ५ ५</p> <p>Tens ० ५ ७ ५ ५</p> <p>Hundreds ७</p>				40
50	५					50
60	५					60
70	५					70
80	५ ५ ५					80
90	५ ५ ५					90
100	७ ७ ७	७ ७ ७		७ ७	७ ७ ७	100
1000	७ ७	७ ७		७ ७	७ ७	1000
10000	७ ७	७ ७		७ ७	७ ७	10000





*Saurashtra Coins*







The title of Jina Dámá, ' votary of Buddha,' is a better reading than Jina Dámá, ' subduer of that sect, formerly adopted. [My No. 11].

Fig. 2, (from Steuart's plates), a coin of Aga Dámá, son of Rudra Śáh. [No. 10].

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Aga Dmna, rājna Kshatrapasa Rudra Śāha putrasa.*

Fig 3, (ditto), a coin of Vijaya Śáh, son of Dámá Śáh. [No. 9].

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Vijaya Śāhasa, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmd Śāha putrasa.*

Fig. 4, (ditto), a coin of Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Śáh. [No. 7].

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Viradāma, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmd Śāhas putrasa.*

Fig. 5, (ditto), a coin of Rudra Śáh, son of Vira Dámá. [No. 13].

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Śāhasa, rājno Kshatrapasa Virādāmd putrasa.*

Another coin, apparently of this Rudra, in my possession, fig. 26, has a date which may be read 283; I find I have two coins of this prince (one given me by Mr. F. Stainforth). Colonel Stacy has also two of the same; they may be known by the epithet *mahā*.

Fig. 6, (ditto), a coin of Viswa Śáh, son of Rudra Śáh. [No. 4].

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Viswa Śāhasa, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Śāha putrasa.*

Fig. 7, (ditto), a coin of Atri Dámá, another son of Rudra Śáh; behind the head, but more distinctly in my own coin (fig. 25), is the date 360? [No. 2].

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Atri dāmna, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Śāha putrasa.*

This name is the nearest approach to the Ari Dámá of the inscription, who, however, was the son of Swámi Chastána. Colonel Stacy has also a coin of Atri Dámá.

Fig. 8, (ditto), of the same prince, introduced as shewing more clearly the name of his father.

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Atri . . . . . trapasa Rudra Śāha putrasa.*

Fig. 9, a coin of Visva Śáh, son of Bhatrí Dámá. [No. 3].

*Rājno Kshatrapasa Visva Śāhasa, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Atri Dāmd putrasa.*

This coin has a date, which may be read 323, in which case it must precede the last two: the father's name was before read as Atri Dámá, whence the misplacement.

Fig. 10, a coin of Swámi Rudra, son of Swámi Rudra Dámá, in the obverse, the figures 39 (perhaps 390). Another has 385. [No. 12].

*Rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmi Rudra Śāhas, rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmi Rudra Dāmd putrasa.*

Fig. 12, a new name, or new as to the second title; Rudra Śáh, son of the *great* Satrap Rudra Dámá, was presented to me by Lieut. E. Conolly, from Ujein.

*Rājna Kshatrapasa Rudra Śāhasa rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Dāmd (?) Śāha putrasa.*

This is the only coin which bears the name of the repairer of the bridge, and that rather dubiously, as the father of the prince who



coined the piece. It has a date on the obverse, which I have interpreted 390, like the preceding.

Fig. 15, a silver coin belonging to Mulla Feroz of Bombay, similar to Mr. Steuart's coin, fig. 3. [No. 9].

*Rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Vijaya Sāhasa, rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Dīmad Sāha putrasa.*

fig. 14, a copper coin, unique, discovered by Lieut. Conolly at Ujein, and placed in my cabinet through his kindness. Obverse, a bull, with a marginal legend, apparently Greek, some of the letters seeming to form the word *Basileus*, etc.

*Rājna mahā Kshatrapa* (pa) . . . the remainder of the legend lost.

The letters are larger and better formed on this than on the silver coins. Most copper coins of the series exactly resemble the silver ones with a head on the obverse. Col. Stacy has a good specimen, of which the obverse (fig. 27) has apparently a date.

[It is now time that I should advert to the epoch of the Sāh kings and the position in which the somewhat difficult question involved at present stands. Prinsep's opinions are reproduced above in their entirety. In continuation of these researches, I myself attempted, some years ago,<sup>1</sup> to determine more precisely the period to which the rule of this dynasty should properly be ascribed; and I selected on that occasion, as the era best calculated, in general coincidences, for the due explanation of the figured dates extant on the coins, the cycle of Śrī Harsha; a system of computation at that time only recently made known to us under the authority of Albirúni, whose work has already been largely referred to in these pages. In arriving at this determination, I did not neglect to consider the claims of other eras whose initial dates promised in any way to accord with the requisitions of the various historical and numismatic evidences derivable from independent sources. Notwithstanding certain leading recommendations that offered themselves in favor of the Buddhist era, I saw cause to reject unconditionally all idea of its title to rule the recorded registers.<sup>2</sup> The Seleucidan era was also tested

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 1 (1848).]

<sup>2</sup> [My present conclusion is that the date of the death of Śākya was never generally used in ancient times either for civil or religious computations, otherwise it would be hard to account for the impossibility of fixing its correct epoch, even in the

in its more obvious applicability to the local or epochal demands; and though many arguments were seen to be suggested in support of its selection, which have since been even strengthened by fresh combinations,<sup>1</sup> I am constrained to declare—apart from the slightest desire to adhere to first impressions—that I still give the preference to the *Śrī Harsha* era!

Albirúni's account of this cycle will be found quoted at large, p. 166, 'Useful Tables'; and though it will be seen that he himself confesses to doubts and difficulties in regard to its origin and true initial date, I am, for the moment, content to take the fact that some such scheme of chronological admeasurement, reckoning from an event proximate to 457 B.C. or 400 before Vikramaditya,<sup>2</sup> was actually once in use in India, and that the memory thereof, whether distinct and definite, or jumbled and perverted, remained current in the land till the 11th century A.D.

We are not yet in a condition to discuss exact annual or

days of Huen Tshang, who, in his own words, shows how important, and yet how difficult of determination, this point was held to be among the Buddhist communities of India when he sojourned amongst them.]

<sup>1</sup> [I allude prominently to the concession of Greek supremacy, which, it will be seen, I have admitted more definitely since I last wrote on the subject,—though the abnegation of the employment of dates on the Bactrian coins, from whose types the Śāh money was copied, detracts somewhat from the value of the inference. One of the previous obstacles to the admission of the dependence of the Śāh kings, was the doubt respecting the absolute import of the term *क्षत्रप*, suggested by Prof. Wilson, who remarked, 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 205, 'Kshatriapa admits etymologically of its being explained chief or protector of the Kshatriya, or martial race, and may possibly be the origin of the Persian title Satrap, as Prinsep supposes, although there is some incompatibility in the assignment of the titles of Rāja and Satrap to the same individual.' On reconsideration, I do not quite admit the force of the latter reason, and the identification of the *क्षत्रप*, as the titular equivalent of the Greek ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ, seems now to be set at rest by the recurrence of the term in the Bactrian Pāli as *𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺* (Inscriptions, vol. i., pp. 99-146, Bactrian coins *infra*); and in Indian Pāli as *𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀺*, pl. xliv., fig. 14.

<sup>2</sup> [Major Cunningham has originated a speculative date of 477 B.C. as 'the era of the Nirvāna of Sakya Sinha, not as established in 543 B.C., but as generally believed in by the early Buddhists for a period of several centuries.' This scheme is based on the fact of Asoka's conversion to Buddhism falling 218 years after the Nirvāna, the former being fixed from other sources at 259 B.C.; hence the Nirvāna itself is assigned to B.C. 477 (259 + 218). A subordinate section of the argument is grounded upon Kanishkas having 'flourished' an even 400 years after the Nirvāna, and yet Major Cunningham, in the same page, while objecting to my inferences, naively remarks—'The difference of exactly 400 years between the dates of Śrī Harsha and of Vikramaditya is, to say the least, very suspicious.'—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vii. of 1854. p. 704.]

monthly dates; an approach to the truth is all we need be concerned with for the time being; for, while the arguments *pro* and *con* extend to questions of centuries, we can afford to leave a very open margin for discretionary modifications among the units and tens. I do not propose to recapitulate at any length my original speculations in regard to the correct epochal position of the Sáh kings, but it is needful that I should notice any confirmation my opinions may since have received, as well as any flaws, real or imaginary, that may have been detected by others in my reasoning or inferences.

Amongst other questions that arose during the course of my examination of the materials then available for the illustration of the history of these administrators, was that of their partial or complete independence; and it will be seen that though the balance of evidence appeared to favor the latter supposition as regarded the later members of the dynasty, yet that I reserved a full option for the recognition of the subjection of the earlier rulers of the line to Greek supremacy.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this, in the detail of the coins themselves, while speaking of the obverse legend on a coin of Rudra Sáh, son of Jiwa Dámá, as 'a possible corruption of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ,' I added, 'there is a king of this name among the Bactrian Greeks, made known to us by his coins, which, in their types, seem to connect him with Apollodotus'<sup>2</sup> This notion has been improved upon by Prof. Lassen to an extent that I am scarcely prepared to follow him in. His theory seems to be, that Íswara Datta was invested with the office of Satrap about the commencement of the 4th century of the era made use of on the coins (*i.e. circa* 157 B.C.), and that, about this time, Apollodotus must have been king; hence it is inferred that he was the Suzerain who raised Íswara to his local honours. It is further added, 'Dionysios, whose name appears sufficiently clear on

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pp. 29, 32, 45, 46.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 52. See also Catalogue *infra*; Dionysius Hemidrachma. No. 1.]

Rudra Sinha's money, reigned *circa* 113 B.C.'<sup>1</sup> And, finally, the Professor imagines he detects the imperfect orthography of the name of Hippostratus on the obverse of the coins of Rudra Sinha III.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to say, that the author, so far from contesting my dates or their attribution, introduces us unintentionally to a new feature regarding them, in a purpose their originators could but little have contemplated—a rectification, by their means, of the epoch of the Greek Suzerains, under whose auspices the coins are supposed to have been issued.

I next pass to Major Cunningham's review of the Sáh period; and, as he contests my inferences, I permit him to state his case, in some detail, in his own way:—

'3rd. The independence of the native princes of Gujrat between 157 and 57 B.C. is completely at variance with the Greek accounts of Menander's conquest of Sarioustos or Suráshtra, between 160 and 130 B.C., which is further authenticated by the long protracted currency of his coins at Barygáza or Baroch.

'4th. The alphabetical characters of the Suráshtran coins are so widely different from those of the Pillar and Rock Inscriptions, and, at the same time, are so much similar to those of the Guptas, that it is impossible not to conclude that there must have been a long interval between Asoka and the independent Sáh kings, and an almost immediate succession of the Sáh kings by the Guptas. . . .

'5th. The author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, who lived between 117 and 180 A.D., states that *ancient* drachmas of Apollodotus and of Menander were then current at Barygáza (Hudson, 'Geog. Min.', i. 87); this prolonged currency of the Greek drachmas points directly to the period of the Indo-Seythian rule; for though we have some hundreds of their gold coins, and many thousands of their copper coins, yet only one solitary specimen of their silver coinage has yet been discovered. [A mistake. the coin is copperplated over; see *infra*, Catalogue, under Kadphises]. The Indo-Grecian silver probably continued current until after 222 A.D. when the Indo-Seythian power began to decline. From this period, about 250 A.D., I would date the independence of the Sáh kings, and the issue of their silver coinage, which was a direct copy in weight, and partly in type, from the Philopater drachmas of Apollodotus.—'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 149.

In regard to the criticism in paragraph 3, I have only to observe that, had I exclusively argued for the absolute and continuous independence of the Sáh kings of Gujarát, the objections therein advanced might be held to be fairly stated. But even Major Cunningham's own date of 160-130 B.C., if admitted, need not interfere with the concession of a subsequent assertion

<sup>1</sup> ['Indische Alterthumskunde,' vol. ii., p. 794.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh. (My No. 5, p. 91, *infra*.)]

of independence on the part of the local governors; and the concluding argument, though the author seems indisposed to allow it, has been refuted in anticipation by Vincent's observations,<sup>1</sup> to which I had given every prominence in my paper which formed the subject of Major Cunningham's comment: had the author printed or even noticed the gist of my argument on the opposite side, and then replied to it, I should have been anxious to have treated his reasoning with more respect than I am able to accord to a mere reiteration of a fact which bears, at the best, an alternative interpretation.

With reference to the ratiocination embodied in the fourth paragraph, I may remark that I have already replied to the chief points involved;<sup>2</sup> but as Major Cunningham and myself differ so completely in our fundamental tests of the progress of writing, and as I am therefore equally unprepared to accept his estimates of similitudes, it would be a sheer waste of time my arguing up from minor details, or attempting to reconcile them, when I have other and less fallacious means of arriving at a judgment.

In respect to the data and inferences embodied in the fifth paragraph, I would simply quote Major Cunningham's own words in regard to the general question between us—'We agree as to the facts, but differ in our deductions.'<sup>3</sup>

My original proposition for the emplacement of the Sâhs contemplated the inclusion of all their dated coins within the fourth century of the Sri Harsha era, and inferentially confined the thirteen kings, whose numismatic testimonies had thus supplied us with epochal records, between B.C. 157 and 57. Among other pure and avowed speculations, which the open nature of

<sup>1</sup> ['That the coins of these princes should pass current at Barugâza is no more uncommon than that the Venetian sequin and the imperial dollar should be at this day current in Arabia, or that the Spanish piastre should pass in every part of India and the East; that is, round the world, from Mexico to Manilla, and in some instances, perhaps, from Manilla to Mexico again.'—Vincent, 'Commerce, etc.' ii. 204.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxiv. (1855), p. 90; also 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 25.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Bhilsa Topes,' p. 145.]

the question and the absence of positive information to a certain extent invited, I was led to remark, in referring to the well-ascertained average of the length of Indian reigns, that the thirteen accessions in question 'should, under ordinary circumstances, be represented by a sum of more than two centuries instead of being compressed into less than one ;'<sup>1</sup> and I further added, 'the almost unvarying similitude that pervades the entire suite of the Sáh coins, in its simple mechanical indication, implies a comparatively speedy sequence of fabrication.' In endeavouring to account for the brief duration of the sway of these potentates, I conjectured a possible republican form of government under which 'two or more rújas were simultaneously invested with a share in the conduct of the state, or, if elected as sole rulers for the time being, the periods of retention of authority were limited directly and definitively by law, or terminable at the will of the majority.'<sup>2</sup> However, these difficulties are certainly more simply and satisfactorily explained by the supposition of a nomination of another description originally emanating from some Suzerain authority to delegated Satraps or governors of provinces.

As regards the consecutive succession of these princes, we have hitherto been compelled to rely upon patronymics and other indeterminate vouchers ; and, though it is a question whether our power of defining the values of the date ciphers is sufficiently advanced to authorise our following a serial arrangement based upon their interpretation, we may still profitably test the process with this reservation. The fairly deciphered and reasonably congruous dates determine the order of succession as follows :—

## LIST OF SÁH KINGS.

## DATES.

1. Íswara Datta, son of Varsha <sup>3</sup> .....	None.
2. Atri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh .....	311, 312.
3. Viswa Sáh, son of Atri Dámá .....	320, 335.
4. Viswa Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh.....	323, 328, 335.
5. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh.....	330.

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 37.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 40.]

<sup>3</sup> [A private individual.]

LIST OF SAH KINGS.	DATES.
6. Dámá Jata Sriyah, son of Dámá Sáh.....	344.
7. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.....(no date deciphered).	
8. Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh.....	345.
9. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh.....	353, 354, 355.
10. Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.....	370.
11. Rudra Sinha, son of Swámí Jiwa Dámá <sup>1</sup>	374, 375.
{ 12. Swámí Rudra Sáh, son of Swámí Rudra Dámá .....	{ 384, 390.
{ 13. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá .....	{ 387.

It results from these dates, however imperfect in their comprehensive series, that either there was a double appointment of simultaneous effect, or an indeterminate periodical supersession and interchange of office-bearers, obeying the fiat of the feudal lord, in the one case; or, following the constitutional order occasionally interrupted by the revolutionary convulsions of independent government, in the other. We are still unable to identify the Swámí Rudra Dámá, son of Swámí Chandana, of the Gírnár inscription, with any of those monarchs whose mints have supplied us with records of their rule; but looking to the delayed introduction of the extra title of Swámí—as now defined by the list adapted to the dates—we may, for the present, conjecture the individual to have been the father of Swámí Rudra Sáh; and may even, with but slight stretch of imagination, shadow forth an association of the dubious inscription date of \*72, with his fitting place in the order of succession and the independence then achieved, to which he lays claim in his monumental writing.


I next proceed to notice such numismatic novelties of this series as have come to light since Prinsep wrote.

Foremost and most important among these are the coins of Íswara Datta, the son of Varsha, the first Rája of my list.

The obverse legends of the three specimens I have had an opportunity of inspecting are, like the rest, couched in imper-

<sup>1</sup> [ A private individual.]

fect Greek letters, the best representation of which is as follows :

 The exergue is, however, remarkable in its contrast with the subsequent series, in having no cipher date, which would seem to indicate that the system of marking the year of issue was not as yet introduced.

The reverse bears the subjoined legend :

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस ईश्वर दत्तस वर्ष पुत्र—<sup>1</sup>**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Iśwara Dattasa Varsha putra—*

The coins of Dāmā Jata Sriyah are also among our later discoveries. Dr. Stevenson first published a notice of a coin of this prince from the Junir hoard (August, 1846). I have since met with two or three further specimens of these rare coins.

The reverse legend runs—

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दमजट श्रीयः रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दम सह पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmujata Sriyah Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāma Saha putrasa.*

The following readings of the coin legends of Dāmā Śāh, the son of Rudra Śāh, are given on the authority of Dr. Bird, who transcribed them for me from the originals in his own possession in 1848.

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दम सहस रञ्जो मह चक्रपस रुद्र सहस पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāma Sāhasa Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāhasa putrasa.*

Finally, I have to advert to the unpublished coins of another Swāmī Rudra Śāh, whose patronymic is only imperfectly retained on the surfaces of the limited number of specimens that have come within my cognisance.<sup>2</sup>

**रञ्ज मह चक्रपस स्वम रुद्र सहस रञ्ज मह चक्रपस स्वम सत्य सह पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmī Rudra Sāhasa Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmī Satya Sāha putrasa.*

These coins are chiefly remarkable in their accordance, in the style and fashion of their Sanskrit legends, with the approximate specimens from the mint of Swāmī Rudra Śāh, No. 12 ; and the more extensive debasement of the Greek exergue on the obverse.—E.T.]

<sup>1</sup> [The concluding letter is defective in all the three specimens, the lower portion only being visible in each. What remains seems to form a portion of an ordinary स, with a second line below the ordinary subjunctive sign of that letter.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lieut.-Colonel Bush, Bengal Army—one silver piece. G. H. Freeling, Esq., Bengal Civil Service—one silver and one plated coin.]



Fig. 16. In this silver coin found in Katch in 1837, and presented to me by Mr. Wathen, the central emblem of the reverse is changed to a kind of trident; the legend is also altered from that of a Satrap to one of a paramount sovereign :

**परम भानुवीर राजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेंद्रस्य**

*Parama Bhānuvīra Rājadhīrāja Śrī Kumara Gupta Mahēndrasya.*

‘Of the paramount sovereign the heroic king of kings Śrī Kumara Gupta Mahendra.’

Fig. 17, another of the same kind, having the same Sanskrit legend, but, behind the head, the Greek letters may be read ONONOR, or RAO NANO? it was presented to me with the last by Mr. Wathen.

Figs. 18, 19, 20, and 21, have the same symbol, but the workmanship is very much deteriorated. The legend on them all has at length been deciphered by the collation of several specimens presented to me by Mr. Wathen, and found in various parts of Katch, Kattywár, and Gujarát, by Capt Prescott, Capt. Burnes, Dr. Burn; as well as the few inserted in the plates of Mr. Stuart’s coins.<sup>1</sup>

**परम भगदत्तम राजश्रीस्कन्दगुप्त क्रमादित्य**

*Parama Bhagadatta ma (ha) Rāja Śrī Skanda Gupta (vi) kramāditya.*

But as I have a larger assortment of the coins of the same king to introduce into a future plate, I will postpone further mention of this series for the present.

[I append to this essay my latest classification of such silver coins of the Guptas as are associated with the types last adverted to by Prinsep.

### SRI GUPTA.

CLASS A: Silver, weight 31 grains. Mr. G. H. Freeling, Bengal Civil Service. Unique.

OBVERSE:—Device, the original type of the Sáh head, apparently unchanged in outline or details.

LEGEND, as usual, in imperfect Greek characters, the concluding six letters of which alone are visible, thus—**Α C Ξ Ο Ξ Ο**

REVERSE:—Device, a singular figure that may possibly represent the early design of the Gupta peacock as rendered by the local artists, beneath which is a linear scroll of three semi-circles similar to that

<sup>1</sup> By a letter from Prof. Wilson I learn that Mr. Stuart’s plate is to appear in the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal; but that it had time to journey to India and back before the outgoing number went to press! I regret I am thus deprived of the power of adding to this note the observations of the learned in England on the Suráshtra coins.—J.P.

seen in continued use on certain silver coins of Skanda Gupta;<sup>1</sup> above the main device are retained the Sáh cluster of stars and a minute half-moon seemingly borrowed from the same source.

LEGEND—

श्रीगुप्तविक्रमद्रक्ष श्रीगुप्तकललद्र

श्री—न्दगुप्तविक्रमद्रक्ष श्रीगुप्तकललद्र — — —

Prof. Fitz Edward Hall proposes to amend my transcript, thus—

श्रीनन्दगुप्त विक्रमेन्द्रज श्रीगुप्त कीलालेन्द्र — — —

To this he assigns the following translation: "The auspicious, Kílálendra Srí Gupta, son of the auspicious Nanda Gupta, an Indra in prowess."

If this should eventually prove to be a piece of the Srí Gupta, the founder of the dynasty known by his name, it will establish a claim on our attention, altogether apart from its novelty as the unique representative of the money of that king—in the evidence of the close and direct imitation of the technic art of the Sáh coinages, which it develops in so much more distinct a degree than the local issues of the Gupta family of a later date. Indeed, this association is so striking that I was, at first sight, almost inclined to modify my original impression of a deferred revival of the Sáh coinage by the Guptas, on their possessing themselves of the province of Sauráhstra, and to doubt whether it would not be necessary to approximate the two races more closely in point of time, in order to explain with any plausibility the mechanical coincidences of the coinage; but, though these will be seen to be strongly marked in the case of the obverse, or conventional portion of the die, the reverse, or dynastic stamp, is materially changed, both in the leading device and, more important still, in the shape of the letters—so that, in this respect, all my early arguments still hold good;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. iv., pl. xlix., figs. 4, 5; vol. vii., pl. xii., fig. 19; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 43, 44; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 20. Prof. Wilson, in speaking of the reverse device of this particular coin, describes it as 'an ornament like a disintegrated Chaitya.'

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pp. 16, 17.]

and, in regard to the barbarized Greek, the inheritance of Sáh imperfections, there need be no difficulty in recognising thus much of the power of imitation of its letters, when we know that on other mintages the Gupta artists were able to achieve fully intelligible Greek adaptations of Eastern names.

#### KUMÁRA GUPTA.

CLASS B: Pl. xxxvii., figs. 16, 17; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii, figs. 39, 40, 41, 42; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., figs. 17, 18.

OVERSE:—Head of the king in profile: the outline and design are nearly identical with the Suráshtran prototype—the mintage of the Sáh kings—at the back of the head is ordinarily to be seen a mutilated portion of the Scythian title PAO NANO. This important legend affords another link in the direct association of the Guptas with the Indo-Scythians, which is here the more marked, in that, while the device itself is servilely copied from the Sáh's, their obverse Greek legends are superseded by this new title.

REVERSE:—It is difficult to determine satisfactorily what the emblem occupying the reverse field may be intended to typify, but the most plausible supposition seems to be that it displays an advance upon the conventional representation of the peacock under Western treatment, following out the artistic notion of that bird given in Sri Gupta's coin.

LEGEND:—

**परम भगवत राजाधिराज श्रीकुमार गुप्त महेंद्रस्य**

*Parama Bhagavata Rájádhirája Śrī Kumāra Gupta Mahendrasya.*

The second word of this legend is the only portion of the whole that is at all open to question; it has been read *Bhánuvira* by Prinsep,<sup>1</sup> but this is not by any means a satisfactory interpretation. The first and third letters are fixed and constant in the various examples, and are properly rendered in each case as भ and व; the second and fourth letters vary considerably in outline on the different specimens; the second letter I have never yet met with in its perfect shape as ग when tried by the test of the ग in Gupta, indeed the majority of the coins display it more after the form of a ञ, as that consonant is found later in

<sup>1</sup> [Prof. Wilson ('Ariana Antiqua,') has suggested *Bhattaraka* (?) which the Udayagiri inscription ('Bhilsa Topes,' p. 151) rather recommends to our notice.]

the legend in Mahendrasya. The same remark also applies to the final न. I see that Prof. Mill has conjecturally supplied the word *Bhagavata* in the prefix to Kumāra Gupta's titles on the Bhitāri Lāt ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 4), but Prinsep's facsimile of the inscription, though it accords the needful space for the exact number of letters, gives the final as a manifest न; in saying this, however, I must remind my readers, that in the alphabet in question, the slightest possible inflection and continuation of a line constitutes the essential difference between the two letters न and त, and on the other hand the local copper plates of the Valabhis render the न very much after the shape of the Eastern त, while the indigenous त is but little different from the न of the coins under reference. And finally as the words *Parama Bhagavata* appear in all their indubitable orthography on the succeeding coins of Skanda Gupta, we may fairly assume a mere imperfection in the expression of the individual letters and leave the word as it has been entered in the legend above.

The coins under notice are not always complete in the Sanskrit legends; for instance, an otherwise very perfect piece in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society has the word राजाधिराज abbreviated into राजाध; and No. 39, pl. ii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., has the same word contracted to राजाधिर.

#### SKANDA GUPTA.

CLASS C: Pl. xxxvii., figs. 18, 19; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 43, 44; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 20.

OBVERSE, as in class B, Kumāra Gupta, but the execution has greatly deteriorated; on some specimens traces of the word NANO are still to be seen.

REVERSE:—The device in this class of money, appears to offer a more direct imitation of that of the Śrī Gupta pieces, than did the intermediate Kumāra reverse types, these latter are seen to reject the foot scrolls and to vary the details of the centre figure to a considerable extent.

LEGEND:—परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

Prinsep, in his collated reading of the legends on these coins adopted the letter म (for महा) as occurring after the word भगवत् [or भगद् as he made it], which he found to be followed by the title of राज, which precedes the name of the monarch. This rendering, he would seem to have drawn from fig. 29, pl. ii., Steuart ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' 1837); but as the like letters do not generally recur, I have marked this as the exception rather than the rule.

The weights of these coins vary from 23 to 29 grains.

CLASS D: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 45, 46; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 19.

OBVERSE:—Crudely outlined head, with traces of the title NANO in front of the profile.

REVERSE:—Figure of Nandī identical in form and position with the emblem on the seal of the Valabhi family as found attached to their copper-plate grants. ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. iv., pl. xl., and p. 487).

LEGEND:—[Restored.]

परम भगवत् श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

These legends are frequently very incomplete, varying in the number of letters in each.

The standard of these coins is very uncertain, rising from a weight of 21 to 30 grains.

CLASSES E, F, G. [The references are prefixed to each variety.]

OBVERSE:—The usual head, generally ill-defined, but still identical in many respects with the original device on the obverse of the Sāh medals; it is occasionally also accompanied by distinct traces of the word NANO.

REVERSE:—Central symbol in the form of an altar, which is supposed to represent the common altar-shaped receptacle of the sacred Tūlsī tree of the Hindūs. Legends restored.

CLASS E: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 49.

परम भगवत् श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

CLASS F: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 50.

**परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त परमादित्य**

*Parama Bhagavata Śrī Skanda Gupta Paramāditya.*

CLASS G: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 51.

**परम भगवत श्री विक्रमादित्य स्कन्द गुप्त**

*Parama Bhagavata Śrī Vikramāditya Skanda Gupta.*

The irregularity in the completion of the legend, noted as occurring on Śkanda Gupta's coins with the bull reverse, appears in a still greater degree in those of the present class.

The weight of these coins is more than ordinarily unequal, rising from 22½ to 33 grains.

Though not properly susceptible of classification with any Gupta series of coins, it is as well to take this opportunity of noticing in connexion therewith a species of money which seems to constitute an independent derivative from the same Sauráshtran type that served as a model for the local currency of the Guptas in certain western provinces of their empire.

I advert to the pieces figured as Nos. 6 to 8 and 9, pl. xxvii.<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, at the moment of their publication (December, 1835), scarcely attempted any decipherment of the certainly very unpromising legends, and was equally at fault in regard to the reverse device which he described as 'a symbol in the form of a trident;' when, subsequently, he came to take up the general subject of the Śáh and Gupta silver coinage in full detail, he still essayed no advance upon the attribution of this offshoot of their common prototype. In my paper on the Śáh kings,<sup>2</sup> I made some slight progress towards the determination of the purport of the legends; and, apart from the typical coincidences, I was able to demonstrate more precisely the Śáh association in the decipherment of the words **राज्ञो महा चक्षपस** on the margin of the best preserved specimen of the series.

<sup>1</sup> [Other examples of this currency will be found delineated in 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. iv., pl. ii., fig. 30; vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 35 to 38.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 64, 15th April, 1848.]

A coin of Mr. Freeling's, of an early date in the serial issue, presenting a well defined and nearly complete legend, materially advances the inquiry, and furnishes a key to the strangely distorted letters stamped on the later emanations from the parent mint, though it leaves us still far from any conclusive assignment of the class of money to which it belongs. I proceed to describe the piece in the ordinary detail.

Silver, weight 27 grains.

OBVERSE:—The usual Sáh head, apparently but little modified. This surface of the coin is damaged, but fully one-half the marginal space, around the profile, remains uninjured, and in the total absence of any sign of a letter confirms my previous supposition,<sup>1</sup> that the use of the Greek legend was not extended to this class of coin.

REVERSE:—Device, a barbarized imitation of the Minerva Promachos of the Bactrian coinage.

I was once disposed to look upon the singular figure on the reverse of these coins as the Buddhist device of a man: I was led to this conclusion by the similarity of the form of the figure sketched by Jas. Prinsep, in fig. 21, pl. iv., to that occurring on the Behat type of coins;<sup>2</sup> but I now observe that Prinsep, in his second engraving of the same coin (fig. 9, pl. xxvii.), omits the left arm, in its downward position, which constituted the most essential point of Behat identity.

LEGEND:—यह भुनहरकसरञ्ज महचचपरमद्वकक्षभसदमन

OPTIONAL  
READINGS

श्रीः न डृ

ह कृ

The configuration of certain letters in these legends demands a passing notice. The character which Prinsep took for *pr*, etc., is now satisfactorily proved to be an नः the form is peculiar, but still it bears sufficient affinity to the general idea of the Gupta न. In the later specimens of the coinage, its upper section is distinguished from the ordinary प by the rounding off of the lower portion of the first down-stroke, while the प itself is

<sup>1</sup> [ 'One item seems safely deducible from the unoccupied margin, to be found around the bust in the broader coins, viz., that the use of Greek or its attempted representation was here discontinued.'—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 63.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pl. xix., fig. 16; pl. xx, figs. 45, 47, etc.]

squared at the base. The nearest approach to identity with this numismatic न is to be found in the outline of that character as expressed on the Udayagiri Inscription; but it must be remarked that this similitude affords but little aid towards determining geographical limitation, as the majority of the letters of the inscription itself are exceptional, and do not accord with the characters of the other writings of the same locality. The न of these coins takes the same shape as those on Kumára's silver coins, Class B, above adverted to. The remaining letters, as far as they have been definitively identified, seem to follow the ordinary Sáh style.—E.T.]



## XX.—ON THE APPLICATION OF A NEW METHOD OF BLOCK-PRINTING, WITH NOTICES OF UNEDITED COINS.

MAY, 1838.

IN all Muhammadan countries it is the well-known custom of those who move in the rank of gentlemen to apply their seals in lieu of their written signatures to letters, bonds, and other written documents—not as we are accustomed to do it, by an impression on wax, but by smearing the flat surface of the seal with ink, and printing in the manner of type, so as to leave on the paper a white cipher upon a black field. It may be in consequence of this custom, as much as from religious prejudice, that Muhammadan seals are almost invariably confined to letter mottos; seldom ornamented, but, if so, merely with flowers, etc., done in outline; because such only can be faithfully portrayed in a type impression, which, of course, cannot at all represent a head or other relieve design.

The money of the Musalmáns was in the same manner generally impressed only with the signet or the titles of the sovereign, well adapted to a flat surface of thin metal.

Seeking an easy and expeditious mode of making public the collection of Muhammadan coins in my own and my friends' cabinets, it thus occurred to me that by forming from them in sealing-wax, or in type metal, an exact counterpart of the die which had been used in striking these pieces, I should be able to use it, in the native fashion, for producing ink impressions along with the ordinary letter type; while, as the coin itself would in every case furnish the mould, every chance of error in copying would be removed: and, though the elegance of a shaded engraving could not be attained, still this would be more than compensated by the scrupulous fidelity of the representation.

My first trial was so encouraging that I at once resolved on carrying

the plan into execution on an extensive scale, and I have now prepared for the press upwards of two hundred coins done in this novel and exceedingly simple manner.

As, however, it will be in every respect more convenient to present them in a continued series as an accompaniment to my tables of the value of Indian coins already published, I propose merely to introduce into the pages of the Journal a few examples of such coins as are new, rare, or, from other causes, worthy of particular description.

But first, in deference to the established custom in such cases, I must assign to this newly-invented art some Greek polysyllabic appellation; and (without intending the undignified lapsus of a pun) I cannot propose one more expressive of the process than *Rupography*—not from rupee, the common designation of our Indian money, nor yet from the Sanskrit word *rūpa*, ‘form, likeness,’ but in a genuine and orthodox manner from the Greek *ρῦπος*, *sigilaris cera*, or sealing-wax, the substance upon which the impression of the coin is first received, and which will itself serve as the printing material, if it be not desired to preserve the block in the more durable material of type metal, by a second transfer from the sealing-wax to a clay or gypsum mould, into which the latter substance can be cast in the usual manner. Some sharpness of outline is lost by this triple operation; and where a great many copies are not required, the *rupographical* process may be safely confined to the first stage, or simple impression on sealing-wax.

As a first specimen,<sup>1</sup> then, of the capabilities of this art of *rupography*, I select a coin, or rather medal, purchased by myself some years ago at Benáres. It is of Husain Sháh, generally accounted the last Súfí monarch of Persia; for, after his abdication in A.H. 1135, his son Tamásp held but a nominal sovereignty, the real power being usurped by Mahmúd the Afghán.

Marsden would designate this as one of the medals of the Persian kings properly so called, intended to be hung and worn on the neck. It had, when I bought it, a hasp for suspension; but still I do not imagine it to have been struck for that express purpose, but rather as a crown piece for distribution to courtiers on a birth-day, as is still the custom at Dilli, at Lucknow, and other native courts. It is of nearly pure silver, and weighs 844.3 grains, a little short of five rupees, and somewhat above as much in value.

Marsden gives the drawing of another medal of the same monarch, which has merely the usual coin inscription.

<sup>1</sup> [I have not thought it necessary to reproduce these facsimiles, in illustration of the mechanical process. I have, however, retained the letter-press, as forming a portion of Prinsep's numismatic essays.]

The following is the numismatical description of my medal :—

SULTÁN HUSAIN SHÁH SAFFAVÍ,  
Reigned in Persia, A.H. 1106–1135, (A.D. 1694–1722).

SILVER.

LEGEND OF THE OBVERSE.

السلطان العادل الهادي الكامل الولي ابو المظفر السلطان بن السلطان  
*Centre* سلطان حسين شاه ١١١٨ بهادر خان  
الصفوي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اصفهان

REVERSE.

*Area.* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله  
*Margin.* علي حسن حسين علي محمد جعفر موسلي علي  
محمد علي حسن محمد

OBVERSE :—The Sultan the just, the spiritual guide, the perfect, the ruler, *Abu'l Muza'ffar ul Sultán bin ul Sultán*, Sultán Husain Sháh, Behádur Khán, of the Safví race : may God perpetuate his kingdom and his dominion ! Struck at Isfahán, A.H. 1118 (A.D. 1694).

REVERSE.—There is no God but God ! Muhammad is the prophet of God ; Ali is the favorite of God.

*Margin.*—Alí, Hasan,—Hosain, Alí,—Muhammad, Ja'far,—Músa, Alí—Muhammad, Alí—Hasan, Muhammad.

(The twelve Imáms in the order of their succession).

#### SPECIMEN II

Is a coin presented to me by General Ventura to complete my series of the Pathán sovereigns of Dillí, being the only one of the founder of that dynasty which I had yet seen. Since then Capt. Burnes has favored me with the sight of a duplicate in less perfect preservation, procured by himself, I believe, at Kabúl. I give it as a specimen of what rupography can do under the most unfavourable conditions.

The form seems imitated from that of the Abbassite khálifs, having the legend in concentric circles written in the Kufic form of Arabic. The facsimile represents exactly by the dark parts where the surface is worn smooth ; however, by carefully comparing the two specimens, the whole has been made out satisfactorily with the aid of my brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep.<sup>1</sup>

It is curious that the common title of *Shaháb ul din*, by which Muhammad is generally known in Indian history, does not appear on this Ghaznah dirhem, which gives him the two-fold designation of *Ghids ul din*, 'the supporter of the faith,' and *Moaz ul násir le din*, 'the humbled of the defender to the faith'—(sc. to the Kaliph of

<sup>1</sup> [ I have slightly modified Mr. Prinsep's reading.]

Baghdád). Probably the patent for the new title of *Shaháb ul din*, 'the flaming sword of faith,' given in honour of his brilliant and destructive expeditions into India, had not yet arrived from the court of the Kaliph.<sup>1</sup> If so, the word *tisain* (90) in the date may be read wrong.

SHAHÁB UL DIN, MUHAMMAD BIN SAM,

Founder of the Ghori dynasty of Dihli. Reigned A.H. 588-602 (A.D. 1192-1206).

SILVER. Weight, 73.4 to 92.6 grains.

LEGENDS ON THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF THE OBTVERSE.

Line 1 هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين  
كله ولو كره المشركون

2 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان الاعظم

3 غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح

4 محمد بن سام

DITTO OF THE REVERSE.

Line 1 ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلده غزنة سنة ستة و تسعين و خمس  
ماية

2 الناصر لدين الله السلطان المعظم معز

3 الدنيا و اندين ابوالمظفر

4 محمد بن سام

[The inscriptions are copied at length in plate xli.]

OBVERSE.—(From the Koran)—'It is he that sendeth his messenger for righteousness,' etc. [Surat, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.]

'There is no God but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God!—The mighty sovereign *Ghids ul dunya wa u'din*, *Abu'l fateh*, Muhammad bin Sam.

REVERSE.—This *dirhem* was struck in the city of Ghaznah, in the year five hundred and ninety-six.

*Al Nasir le din illah* [the Khalif], the mighty sovereign, *Moaz ul din*, *abu'l Muza'ffar*, Muhammad bin Sam.

#### SPECIMEN III.

Among the coins discovered by General Ventura in the great tope at Manikyála, and described in vol. iii., pl. xxi. [v.] figs. 10 and 11, [Art. VI.], were two of the Sassanian type, having Sanskrit legends on the margin of the obverse. I did not then attempt to decipher them, nor am I aware that their explanation has been since effected elsewhere.

Captain Burnes has been so fortunate as to pick up three more of the same curious coins, in his present journey, which are now in my hands, with other rare antique produce of his successful research.

<sup>1</sup> [The history of this double nomenclature will be found in detail in my *Essay on the Coins of the Pathán Kings of Dihli*. London, 1847.]

They have every appearance of having been extracted from some similar ancient monument; which is by no means improbable, for we may be very sure that full half of the fruits of the late explorations of the various topec have evaded the hands of their explorers, and are scattered about the country to be hereafter picked up gradually from pilgrims or professed dealers; for a trade will soon be organized in such articles, if it be not already established. There is no harm in this, as it will tend to preserve such relics from destruction; but we must for the future be on our guard against spurious specimens, which will multiply daily.

Captain Burnes' discovery has been of the greatest service toward the deciphering of the Sanskrit legend: his coins have helped me to the general purport of the marginal writing, even if they have not wholly explained its contents. I found on collating the five legends now at my command, that three of them (*vide* pl. xli.) were short of the others by two letters, which in the most perfect of Captain Burnes' coins might be clearly read as *nita* नितः. Remembering an analogous omission on one of the Gupta coins of Kanauj, wherein some specimens had the epithet *vijayaja* and others *vijayajanita*—both of the same meaning, I concluded that the preceding anomalous letter on all the coins must be a ज, and, indeed, it has no small affinity to the modern Nágari and Bengálí j. The two preceding syllables, again, there could be no doubt about; being in all five examples देव *deva*. Now, *devaja* and *devajanita*, 'offspring of the gods,' is the well-known epithet of the ancient Persian monarchs as well as of the Sassanian race. Thus, in the trilingual inscription on the Nukshi-rustam sculpture given in Ker Porter's travels in Persia, vol. i., 518, we have in the Greek character: ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΘΗΟΝ ΜΑΔΑΚΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, which is repeated below in two forms of Pehlvi.

The same title in Sanskrit, *devaputra shahán sháhi*, it may be remembered, is applied to the king of Persia in the Allahábád pillar inscription, as revised at p. 233, vol. i.

Again, on the Sassanian coins, read by the Baron de Sacy as far as they are published by Ker Porter (for I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the Baron's work on the subject), the Pehlvi legend runs:

مزدزن به شهپور ملكان ملکا منوچتری من یزدان

*Mazdezn beh Shahpura malakán malaká<sup>1</sup> minochutri men yezdan.*

'Adorer of Ormuzd, excellent Shahpur, king of kings, offspring of the divine race of the gods.'

<sup>1</sup> In the examples given, I should read this passage—*Malakán malak Airinan*, etc.; but the Sassanian coins require study ere they can be properly made out.











The natural deduction hence was that the rest of the Sanskrit legend would also turn out to be a translation, or an imitation of the Sassanian formula; and thus, in fact, it has proved to be.

INDO-SASSANIAN DIRHEM.  
SILVER. Weight, 53 grains.

LEGEND.

ONVERSE:—Head of Mithra (Ormuzd); Pehlvi very distinct, but unread; see pl. xli.

REVERSE:—On the field, three letters of an unknown alphabet (like the Armenian?) or perhaps numerals?

Margin:—

श्री हितिविर ऐराणाच परमेश्वर श्री फा हितिगान देवजनिता

*Sri hitivira Airāna cha parameswara Sri Fāhitigān devajanita.*

In this legend the only actual letters at all doubtful are the *p* and *me* of *parameswara*, and the first and last letters of the name. Indeed, the first letter is different in every example, as will be seen in the lithographed plate [xli.], as though they were all different names of the same family. Now to analyse the sentence:—

*Hitivira* I suppose to be a corrupt writing of हृदिवीर *hridivira*, ‘noble in heart,’ equivalent to the Pehlvi word *beh*, translated by ‘excellent.’ *Airāna cha parameswara*, and the supreme lord of Airān or Persia, may be read (perhaps better) *Airān va Pārseswara*, the lord of Iran and Fars. For the name, we have severally *pha*, *cha*, *va*, *gha*, or *hā*! followed by *hitigān* or *hitikhān*; and, lastly, *devajanita*, as before explained.

I am quite at a loss to find owners for such names; and although this is the third time I have alluded to this coin, gaining little by little each time, still I fear we have much to learn before we can unravel its entire history. For the present I leave unnoticed the Pehlvi legend, merely placing under view in the annexed plate corresponding passages from regular Sassanian coins, which, being titles, will soon lead to a knowledge of their alphabet and meaning.

[As intimated under Art. XV. (vol. i., p. 410), I have intentionally reserved all notice of the bilingual and trilingual emanations from Indo-Sassanian mints, and their subordinate illustrative varieties, until I could associate my latest tentative readings with Prinsep’s closing illustration of this interesting division of Oriental Numismatics.

I have elsewhere (vol. i., p. 65) adverted to the obstacles that present themselves to any precise definition of the permutable

letters of the Pehlvi alphabet, which may not chance to be supported by the context, or some leading indication calculated to assure its exactitude; but, in the present instance, we have to encounter dialectic modifications and transmutations from other tongues, in addition to the ignorant treatment of a language at the best but imperfectly known to us.<sup>1</sup> The legends I have ventured to designate as Scythic, in virtue of their seeming derivation and the assimilation of certain of their forms to the Tartar alphabets, are to this time simply unintelligible.

The classification of these complicated materials will be seen to present somewhat of a difficulty—even if the data permitted it, they could not well be adapted to any epochal order—nor do the medals sufficiently accord to follow suit under the simple typical arrangement. I am, therefore, reduced to group the different series by the linguistic test, as exemplified by the following outline:—

- A. Scythic (two varieties).
  - A *a*. Scythic and Sanskrit.
  - A *b*. Scythic, Sanskrit, and Pehlvi (two varieties).
  - A *c*. Scythic and Pehlvi.
- B. Pehlvi and Sanskrit (two varieties).
- C. Pehlvi, Scythic, and Kufic.
- D. Second variety of unidentified characters with Kufic.
- E. Kufic (alone).

CLASS A: Unidentified characters, supposed to be Scythic.  
Figs. 9 and 10, pl. xvi., 'Ariana Antiqua.'

I notice the class, represented by the above cited engravings,

<sup>1</sup> [For example, of all those who are learned in Zend and its cognate languages—of the various Professors who edit Pehlvi texts, or who put together Grammars of that tongue—no single individual has to this day been able to add one line of translation to the bilingual inscriptions of Ilāji-ābād (Ker Porter, pl. xv., p. 513; Westergaard, 'Bundehesh,' p. 83; Spiegel, 'Grammatik,' p. 175, etc.), beyond what De Sacy had already taught us in 1793. In brief, our power of interpretation fails us exactly where the Sassanians have omitted to supply us with the Greek translations they appended to some of the parallel texts, which, however, unfortunately extend but little beyond the titular and dynastic præordium of the inscription more immediately in question. I may, however, notice favourably Dr. Haug's tentative interpretations, confessedly incomplete as they are.]

•merely as introductory to the several ramifications of the unidentified alphabet on the coins of later date, which form the subject of my present synopsis. I have to refer, however, momentarily to a still earlier exhibition of the literal series in the degradation and gradual transmutation of the original Greek legends, on the lower Kanerki coins, into the conventional forms and symbols of this system of writing—so that the Greek epigraph of PAO NANO PAO OOHPI KOPANO degenerates into the, to us, confused jumble of signs, which the cognate characters on other medals alone teach us to look upon as real and *bonâ fide* vehicles of phonetic expression—now extant upon the pieces engraved as No. 17, pl. xiv., ‘Ariana Antiqua’; No. 6, pl. xxii., *suprà*; and No. 16, pl. xiv., ‘Ariana Antiqua.’

The Sassanian proper money, more especially under reference, exemplifies the free and independent use of the debateable character, as opposed to the possible mere mechanical barbarization of a foreign tongue in the other instance, and would seem to evidence the local currency of the speech it was calculated to embody in one section at least of the dominions acknowledging fealty to the successors of Ardeslín Bálbick.<sup>1</sup> Next in literal simplicity, though probably of a varied site and but little approximate period, must be quoted the series so peculiarly Indo-Sassanian in their identities, which still restrict themselves to this style of writing—Nos. 19, 20, ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi.

The Indo-Sassanian money with unmixed Sanskrit legends has already been adverted to, but further examples of the subordinate classes may be consulted under the following references:—‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi., fig. 18 (𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺𑀓); *ibid*, pl. xvii., fig. 11, and pl. xxi., fig. 20; ‘*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*,’ vol. xii., pp. 341, 342, etc.; ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi., fig. 8.

CLASS A a: (Bilingual Scythic and Sanskrit). Type, fig. 6, pl. xvii., ‘Ariana Antiqua.’ .

<sup>1</sup> [Other specimens of money bearing these peculiar legends may be seen under ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvii., Nos. 12 to 15.]

OBVERSE:—Head facing to the right.

LEGEND in unidentified characters. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., fig. 21.

REVERSE:—Fire altar and supporters about the pedestal of the altar  
श्रीदे — | षहि श्री ?

CLASS A b: (Trilingual, Scythic, Sanskrit, and Pehlvi?). Pl. v., figs. 10, 11; and pl. xli., figs. 1 to 5.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE:—Device, as in the plate; the tiger-crest is less obscure on other coins.

Centre:—Unidentified characters.

Margin:—Legend also of doubtful import, but expressed in Sanskrit letters.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25  
श्रीहितिविरखरखाचपरमेश्वरश्रीषाहितियतदेवजारित

The above transliteration, based upon mechanical configurations alone, gives the preferable reading of each character, deduced from a collation of the legends on the numerous coins extant. As the language this legend embodies is, up to this time, unknown to us, there are no precise means of selecting the intentional as opposed to the technically rendered letters. For instance, it is doubtful whether the 6th form should be taken to stand for ख, ऐ, or वे. The 9th letter may be only one of the frequently recurring व's; but I read it as च, in accord with Prinsep, on the authority of one of Sir A. Burnes's coins (now in the possession of General Fox), which gives the character with more than usual distinctness. In the letters 10 to 14, I again follow Prinsep, on the principle of the probability of the combination rather than upon the positive assurance of the imperfectly discriminated letters which compose the word. And, with some such similar tendency, I formerly proposed the substitution of ष as the modern representative of No. 16, in preference to the optional फ or व of my author's text, a conjectural emendation since amply confirmed by the configuration of the letter in question on one of Colonel Lafont's coins in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> [Also 'Journal Asiatique,' vol. vii. (1839), pl. xvii., p. 34; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 22; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., figs. 17 to 20.]



REVERSE :—

To the left . . . افزو = ۱۱۵۱

To the right . . . پون شم دات = ۱۱۵۱

*Margin* :—Legend similar to that on the obverse exergue.

CLASS A c: (Bilingual, Scythic and Pehlvi).

To complete the classification, I refer to two coins as yet incompletely deciphered in the Pehlvi, and altogether unintelligible in their Scythic legends, a description of which will be found at p. 332, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii.

VĀSU-DEVA.

CLASS B: (Bilingual, Pehlvi and Sanskrit).

Prinsep's delineation, pl. vii., fig. 6,<sup>1</sup> sufficiently displays all the typical details of these pieces; I have merely to deal with the legends.

OBVERSE :—To the right of the figure is Pehlvi, but illegible in the specimen engraved.

(Increase) افزوت . . . = ۱۱۵۱

To the left . . . دن ولسو مودن

سف ورسو تیف

Or *Siv Varsú tef* for *Sri Vāsu deva*.

*Margin* :

۱۱۵۱ ولسو مودن ولسو مودن ولسو مودن ولسو مودن  
پون شمی دات سف ورسو تیف و همان اچ ملتان ملکا

'In nomine justī judicis,'<sup>2</sup> *Siv Varsáo tef, Brahman, King of Multán.*

<sup>1</sup> [Other engravings and facsimiles may be consulted in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii., fig. 9; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., figs. 9 to 15.]

<sup>2</sup> [The usual formula opening, corresponding with the Arabic *Bismillah*. See Anquetil 'Zend Avesta,' vol. ii., p. 341, correctly ۱۱۵۱ ولسو مودن. M. Spiegel does me but bare justice when he concludes that I was unaware of his previous decipherment of a portion of this marginal legend when I published my first paper on the subject in the pages of the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 343. In truth, in those days, I was but as little in the way of seeing German books, as I have limited facility of reading them now; but I quoted, with full and deserved commendation, Prof. Olshausen's treatise, and noticed all other continental works, referring to the subject, of which I was able to obtain knowledge. In his 'Grammatik der Huzvâreschsprache' (Wien, 1856), M. Spiegel reclaims the title to priority of interpretation of the opening portion of this sentence, which it seems appeared in May, 1844 ('Jahrb. für wissenschaftl.-Kritik.' Mai, 1844, p. 703). And, further, he desires to

## REVERSE :—

To the right

श्री वासु देवः ॥

*Srī Vāsu deva.*

To the left . . .

پنجای زاولستان

Margin . . .

پنجای زاولستان  
کودان

It will be seen that these coins are not very exact in the Pehlvi rendering of the initial invocation, and there are other signs of indeterminate orthographical expression in the indifferent insertion or omission of the redundant ۱ = ن, or final stop, after the ۱۰۰ and the ۱۰۰ in the obverse marginal inscription. I have to acknowledge, though I will not attempt to explain, a more obvious divergence, recurring without exception, in the transliteration of the Sanskrit name वासु *Vāsu*, which is reproduced as ۱۰۰ and ۱۰۰, in conflicting contrast in the duplicate record on the obverse surface.

A coin, in the possession of Colonel Abbot, equally evincing this peculiarity in its well-executed but now abraded Pehlvi legends, displays the Sanskrit श्री वासु देवः under a negative aspect, that is to say, as legible on the original die, but reversed on its stamped produce. With the above exception, I have not much doubt about the obverse renderings, nor do I distrust the inter-

correct my reading of ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ into פון שמי יאמ. I am not disposed to concede this point, as, apart from the greater probability of the employment of the former formula, the consistency of literal configuration, as developed by the coins, is opposed to the transmutation of the Pehlvi ۱۰۰ of ۱۰۰ into the optional and convertible ۱۰۰ of the more modern system of writing. I may remark, in conclusion, that an author who is disposed to exact so rigorously his own dues, in such insignificant matters, should have been more precise in his apportionment of the credit of discovery by others. For instance, I find, at p. 26, my alphabets ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 262), assigned to another person. At pp. 27, 32, a complete ignoring of my remarks on the formation of the final ۱۰۰ ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xiii., p. 379), which the author does not very satisfactorily exemplify from his own materials; and at p. 176, my rectification of the so-long misunderstood word, on the reverse of the earlier Sassanian coins, and its determination as ۱۰۰ *Nowdai* ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 387; 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xv., p. 181), is quoted as Dr. Mordtmann's, notwithstanding that the latter had acknowledged my initial decipherment, and entered into some controversy as to my idea of the derivation of the word (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. viii. 32).]



pretation of the name of زاولستان *Záulistán* on the reverse;<sup>1</sup> but the word that precedes it still continues an enigma, and I hesitate to propose for acceptance either the geographical definition of پنجواي 'the old capital of Arachotia, a religious association with the Sanskrit पूजा *worship*, or a temporal indication of rulership, of which this may be the undeciphered exponent.

In typical design these coins are in a measure connected with an exceptional style of Sassanian money,<sup>2</sup> attributed to Khosrú II. (A.D. 591—628). The obverse head on these innovations has but little identity with that on the Indo-Sassanian pieces, and is only associated with the device of the latter in the novelty of the front face. The reverse figure, on the other hand, accords exactly with the bust on the eastern money. I have not myself had an opportunity of examining any one of the few extant pieces of the former class, and rather hesitate to propose decipherments on the strength of mere engravings; but as there is only one word about which there is any doubt, I may reproduce the legends as follows:—

OVERSE:

To the left (with the usual monogram) سسویس

To the right . . . سوسدلو کلوک کلود

هوسروی ملکان ملکا

<sup>1</sup> [I would note *en passant* the entire absence of the Pehlvi ب = ب in these legends, the و = و, the Sanskrit प uniformly supplying its place as in the Vendidad, Zend, *Vēkerēānte*; Pehlvi, *Kawul*.—'Anquetil,' vol. i. 267.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rawlinson, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xi., p. 126; 'Abulféda,' ٣٣٣. ٣٥٦; 'Journal Asiatique,' vol. x., p. 94; *Pangouti*; Reinaud, 'Fragments,' p. 114; 'Ayin-i Akbari,' vol. ii., p. 167.]

<sup>3</sup> [See Ouseley, 'Medals and Gems' (London, 1801), No. 8; 'Jahrbücher' (1844), No. cvi., p. 29, pl. No. 7; Longperier, pl. xi., fig. 3; Olshausen, p. 65; 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 137; Mordtmann, 'Zeitschrift,' p. 138. Ker Porter gives an engraving of a coin with a similar obverse, pl. lviii. fig. 18. *Reverse*: 'A single upright figure, . . . executed in a very barbarous style, having a chump-headed, dwarfish effect.'—vol. i., p. 133. Longperier's No. 4, pl. x., from the cabinet of the Duc de Blacas, is identical in its types: the author assigns this piece to Khosrú I. Dr. Mordtmann follows this attribution, and interprets the legends—*Obverse*: הוסרוי אפוזר. *Reverse*: קהאז סיה (= 84) הוסרוי, with a conjectural addition of 'Iran afzud Kirman.'—p. 93. It is a question with me whether this coin is not due to Khosrú II. rather than Khosrú I.]

## REVERSE :

To the left . . . هفت سیه = ۷۰۰۰  
(An: 37 of his reign.)

To the right . . . ——— ۷۰۰۰  
ایران افروت

Dr. Mordtmann reads the final word, omitted in the above, as 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, *Uzaina Chuzistan*. I certainly should not thus transcribe the letters as they appear on the *Jahrbücher* coin; and, possibly, if I did so, I might dissent from the present interpretation: however, as I am not prepared to set copies against originals, I abstain from further comment.

CLASS B: Variety. (Bilingual, Pehlvi, with Sanskrit mint-marks?). Plate xxxiii., fig. 3.<sup>1</sup>

## OBSERVE :

Pehlvi legend 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 or 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

The initial letter is convertible as 𐭠 or 𐭣, and is frequently either omitted altogether or inserted in the field apart from its succeeding 𐭣. The 𐭣 itself is often degraded into a double loop, which alters its character completely. The 𐭠, or *k* with *E final*, there is no doubt about; and the strange combination that follows, which, in many instances, expresses nothing but 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, proves to be a mere bungling formation of the letters 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, the 𐭠 being elongated by the addition of the tail stroke, which properly belongs to, and is the distinguishing mark of the 𐭠 as opposed to the old Sassanian 𐭠. The final 𐭠 of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 usually appears on the left of the bust.<sup>2</sup>

CLASS C: (Trilingual, Pehlvi, Scythic, and Kufic).

I do not design to reproduce any detailed description of the

<sup>1</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii., figs. 5, 7, 10, etc.]


<sup>2</sup> [M. de Longperier attributed one of these coins to Hormusdas III., interpreting the Pehlvi as 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 (Médailles de la Dynastie Sassanide, Paris, 1840, pl. i., fig. 1, p. 56). Dr. Mordtmann, again, assigns a coin, similar in its typical style to No. 10, pl. xvii., 'Ariana Antiqua,' to Azermidukht, pl. ix, fig. 31, p. 194, Zeitschrift, etc.]

coins I would group under this heading; a delineated specimen of the class may be consulted in fig. 4, pl. xvii., 'Ariana Antiqua';<sup>1</sup> and my own attempts at their decipherment, together with facsimiles of the legends, are to be found at p. 329 *et seq.*, vol. xii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.'

I advert to them now merely to complete the reference to the several series connected by similarity of linguistic legends with classes B, and B variety, above noticed.

Silver: weight, 58.4 grains. British Museum.



OBVERSE:—The usual linear imitation of the old Sassanian head, as adopted by the Arabs.



To the left: The standard monogram and  .

To the right: Legend in unidentified characters, of the same style as in classes A, B.

Margin:—In Pehlvī letters , and in Kufic letters the words  .

REVERSE:—The ordinary fire-altar and supporters.

To the left . . .  =  = *Sixty-three* A.H.

To the right . . .  =  *Khbus*.<sup>2</sup>

Margin:—

Upper compartments: unidentified characters as on obverse.

Lower compartments:

To the left . . . . The standard monogram.

To the right . . . .  = 

Doubtful dates, 68 A.H. and 69 A.H.

CLASS D: (Bilingual, variety of unidentified character with Kufic).

To bring under one view the various transitional modifications of Sassanian money that may, by any possibility, bear upon the mixed series already noticed, I would advert to two subordinate classes, the first of which seems in its alphabetical devices to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of

<sup>1</sup> [See also Olshausen, German text, p. 56: 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 130.]

<sup>2</sup> [Khbus in Kermán, see Ouseley (خبيص) 199; 'Abulféda,' p. 442; Marco Polo *Kobinam*, p. 107.]

discovery connect it with the Central Asian types above enumerated.

Facsimiles of four of these pieces are given in Fræhn's 'Die Münzen (1832) Nos. 434, 435, pl. xvi., figs. **Ⲭ** and **ⲓ**; and 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' No. 101 (new series), pl. iii. figs. 6a, 7. Here again the epigraphs are bilingual; the legend on the right appears to read from the outside, commencing at the front point of the tiara, and the forms of the letters give it a decidedly Phœnician aspect, though for the present their elements defy decipherment. The short word on the left of the Sassanian crown is expressed in Kufic letters, its foot-lines being towards the centre of the piece. Professor Fræhn conjectured that the combination on fig. **Ⲭ** might be resolved into the title of المهدي the Khalif (A.H. 158—169 A.D. 774—785), and this interpretation receives confirmation from a more legible specimen of the coinage lately acquired by the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> On fig. **ⲓ** and other coins the word appears to be composed of the letters سكي or سلي; but on an unpublished specimen of Colonel Anderson's the name is fairly legible as محمد which, it will be remembered, was Al Mahdī's proper designation.<sup>2</sup>

#### Class E: Kufic (alone).

I complete the series with a set of medals having many characteristics in common with the money classified under the heading D, though it is a question whether in point of antiquity they are not entitled to take precedence of their bilingual counterparts. The connexion and association between the two is marked both in the general design of the obverse device, and more distinctly in the distribution of the symbols on the reverse, where Ormazd's head, rising from the flames of the fire-altar, pronounces them either derivatives from a common stock, or imitations the one of the other. The peculiarity of the coins of Class E, however, consists in their having attained to the correct

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham's collection.]

<sup>2</sup> [Price's 'Mahomedan Hist.,' ii. 23. Fræhn, 'Recensio,' p. 24, etc. 'Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde,' Stickel Leipzig (1846), p. 50.]

exhibition of Kufic legends, pure and simple. The earliest published piece of this class is also to be found in Professor Frähn's comprehensive works.<sup>1</sup> The exergue on the obverse was read by that accomplished scholar as

بسم الله محمد رسول الله الخاقان الاعظم جمال امير المؤمنين

To this I am able to add from coins in the possession of Col. Abbott (1), and Capt. Hay (3), the novel, though imperfectly deciphered, legends—

OBVERSE:—

بسم الله محمد رسول الله حمدله مما امر به الامير علي سلمن الله

The concluding words on other specimens seem to read . . . سلمن الله; and in one instance . . . سلمن الله.

On the reverse the pedestal of the altar is formed of the word على.

CLASS E: Variety.

TALHAH BIN TAHIR, A.H. 209 to 213.

Copper: size,  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ; weight, 30 (and 31) grains. A.H. 209.

Two specimens, British Museum (Cunningham collection).

OBVERSE:—

Centre: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلص بامر سنة تسع و مائتين

REVERSE:—Central device, a barbarized Sassanian head, to the right, with the usual flowing backhair, and traces of the conventional wings above the cap; the border of the robe is bossed or beaded.

In front of the profile is the name الطلحة

Margin: محمد رسول الله مما امر به الامير طلحة علي يدي عبدالله

I have two difficulties in regard to the above transcript from the original Kufic. The one in respect to the name of the place of mintage, which is visible on only one of the two specimens quoted, and is there somewhat confused in the original definition of the several letters, and otherwise obscured by oxydation. The third and fourth upright lines are opened out, or slanted away from one another, towards the top, which usually indicates

<sup>1</sup> ['Novæ Symbolæ ad rem Numariam Muhammedanorum Petrop,' 1819, p. 45, pl. ii., fig. 14.]

the letter ع ; though this sloping off may, perhaps, be a mere fortuitous imperfection of the die-engraving, the final letter is best represented by a modern ج, though it may, if needful, be converted into an ل.

The second point is of less consequence, and extends only to the almost invisible outline of the word I have supplied by ידי, under the requisitions of sense rather than on the absolute authority of the single coin which retains in any degree of distinctness that portion of its mint impress.

### BRÁHMANÁBÁD COINS.

I am anxious to refer, even though momentarily, and in a necessarily imperfect manner, both from the condition of the materials and the want of preparation on my own part, to an interesting series of Indian coins that have only lately been brought to light during the excavation of an inhumed city in the province of Sindh, which Mr. Bellasis, its enterprising explorer, designates, perhaps somewhat prematurely, by the title of the ancient Bráhmanábád.<sup>1</sup>

However, be the site what it may, the laying open of this ruined town has made us acquainted with a class of essentially local money, of which the circle of our Oriental numismatists had previously no cognizance. Unfortunately, for the due and full explication of their historical position, the pieces obtained from this locality are nearly, without exception, of copper ; and, in common with their more rare associates of silver, have suffered to an unusual extent during their prolonged entombment.

The general character of the coins, numbering some thousands, and in mere bulk sufficient to fill a 28 lb. shot-bag, is decidedly exclusive, involving Kufic legends with occasional provincial devices, and pertaining, as I suppose, to the Arab

<sup>1</sup> [ Its exact position is stated to be 47 miles N.E. of Haidarábád. An account of the city of Bráhmanábád was first published by Mr. A. F. Bellasis in Bombay in 1856. A paper by Col. Sykes, on the same subject, appeared in the *London Illustrated News* of Feb. 21, 1857 ; and Mr. Bellasis' plans and sections in the number for the 28th of the same month.]

potentates of Mansúrah, who ruled over the lands of the lower Indus after the decay of the central power of Mohammedanism at Baghdád. The money of Mansúr bin Jamhúr (منصور بن جمهور الكلي),<sup>1</sup> the last Governor on the part of the Umayyid Khalífs (about 750 A.D.), heads the list. I do not advert to the earlier coinages of central Asia, which have been transported, in the ordinary course, to the site of their late discovery; but commence the series with the coins which bear on their surfaces the earliest extant mention of the celebrated capital Mansúrah, the Arab reproduction of the still more famed Bráhma-nábád of classic renown.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See 'Baládari,' Reinaud's 'Fragments, 'Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde,' Paris, 1845, p. 211.]

<sup>2</sup> [ 'Amrou, fils de Mohammed fils de Cassem . . . . . fonda, en deçà du lac, une ville qu'il nomma Almansoura. C'est la ville où résident maintenant les gouverneurs.'—p. 210. In a previous passage, Baládari tells us, 'Ensuite Mohammed fils de Cassem, se porta devant la vieille Brahmanabad, qui se trouvait à deux parasanges de Mansoura. Du reste Mansoura n'existait pas encore, et son emplacement actuel était alors un bois. . . . . Mohammed plaça un lieutenant à Bahmanabad; mais aujourd'hui la ville est ruinée.'—Reinaud, p. 198. The Arabic author from whom these facts are derived, named أحمد بن يحيى البلاذري, died in

279 A.H. or 892 A.D. See also Reinaud, quoting Albirdnī's 'Tārikh-i-Hind Fragments,' p. 113. The MS. of the latter author's Kānūn has the following:—

بهنمنا وهي منه الكبرى وسميت منصورا لأن فاتحها قال نصرت

Jaubert, in his translation of Edrisi, on the authority of the original, states that the local native name of the place was ميران. Masúdi tells us, 'I visited Multán after 300 A.H., when أبو الدليات المنبه بن أسد القرشي السامي was king there.'

At the same time I visited el Mansúrah, the king of that country was then الله أبو المنذر عمر بن عبد الله, [of the family of Habbár ben el Aswad.]—p. 385, Sprenger's Translation. Again, with regard to the extent and importance of the kingdom, we are informed, 'All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand; the whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields.'—p. 386, *ibid.* Further references to the geographical and other questions involved will be found as follows:—Vincent's 'Commerce of the Ancients,' London, 1807, vol. i., p. 145. Gladwin's 'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii., p. 137, *et seq.* 'Marásid-al-Itala,' vol. ii., p. 161. 'Istakrí' (A.H. 300 to 309), 'and Sind is the same as Mansúrah . . . . . Mansúrah which they call Sindh.'—pp. 12 and 147. Ouseley's 'Oriental Geography' (London, 1800). 'Ibn Hankal' (A.H. 331 to 366). 'Gildemeister de rebus Indicis' (Bonn, 1838), p. 166. Col. Anderson's Translation, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxi., p. 49. Reinaud's 'Géographie d'Aboulfeda,' vol. i., p. 386, etc. 'Liber Climatum Arabic Text,' J. H. Møller, Gothæ, 1829. Reinaud's 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 235. 'Ancient Accounts of India and China,' London, 1733; ditto, Reinaud's edition, Paris. Elliot's 'Historians of India,' Calcutta, 1849. Elliot's 'Appendix to the Arabs in Sind,' Cape Town, 1853. 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 413. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pp. 93, 279; vol. x., p. 183; vol. xiv., p. 75. McMurdo, 'Jour. Roy.

I should be disposed to conjecture a considerable interval to have elapsed between the issue of this currency and that bearing devices somewhat in common, which displays the name of Abdulrahman (No 3 *infra*), but I am not now in a condition to enter into any satisfactory speculations as to the precise identity of this monarch, or the dates of any of his successors, whose names can be but faintly traced on the worn and corroded surfaces of the coin, submerged with the town of which it necessarily constituted the bulk of the then existing currency. I await, in short, the further supplies of better specimens, promised me by the energetic antiquarians on the spot,<sup>1</sup> and, individually, more leisure to look up the rather obscure history of the divisional government which these coins represent.

I have one remark to add in reference to the peculiarly local character of these numismatic remains, and the restricted antiquity of the town; as tested by the produce of the habitations hitherto penetrated, in the fact of the very limited number of Hindú coins found among these multitudes of medieval pieces, and that even these seem to be casual contributions from other provinces, of no very marked uniformity or striking age.

#### MANSUR.

No. 1, Copper: weight, 33 grains; size 6.

OBVERSE:—

*Area:* لاله الا الله وحده لاشريك له

*Margin:* Illegible.

REVERSE:—

*Area:* Central symbol nearly effaced, above which appears the name محمد, and below the words رسول الله.

*Margin:* بسم الله ضرب [هذا القل]س بالمنصورة مما امر به  
منصو (sic)

As. Soc., vol. i., p. 23 *et seq.* Burnes' 'Bokhara,' vol. iii., p. 31. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. i., p. 199. Postan's 'Observations on Sindh,' p. 143. Pottinger's 'Beloochistan and Sindh' (London, 1816), p. 381. Wood's 'Oxus' (London, 1841), p. 20. Mohammed Ma'sûm's 'History of Sind,' A.D. 710 to 1590. 'Bombay Government Selections,' new series, No. xiii. (1855).]

<sup>1</sup> [Messrs. Frere, Bellasis, and Gibbs, of the Bombay Civil Service.]



## No. 2 :

OBVERSE :—Device altogether obliterated.

REVERSE :—

*Area* : Central symbol in the shape of an elongated eight-pointed star : above, محمد ; below, رسول الله .

*Margin* : (sic.) بسم الله ضرب هـ بالمنصورة مما امره منصور

## ABDULRAHMAN.

No. 3, Copper : size, 5 ; weight, 44 grains.

OBVERSE :—Central device, a species of quatrefoil, or star with four points, on the sides of which are disposed, in the form of a square, the words محمد رسول الله عبدالرحمن . The outer margin of the piece is ornamented with a line of dots enclosed within two plain circles, with four small dotted semicircles to fill in the space left vacant by the angular central legend.

REVERSE :—A scalloped square, surrounded by dots, within which, arranged in three lines, are the words بالله عبدالرحمن لسلعار ; the concluding word I am unable satisfactorily to decipher, it is possibly the name of Abdulrahman's tribe.

## ● MUHAMMED. ●

No. 4 : A unique coin of apparently similar type—though with an obverse absolutely blank—replaces the name of Abdulrahman on the reverse by that of Muhammed. The concluding term is identical with the combination above noted.

## ABDALLAH.

No. 5 : Copper.

OBVERSE :—Device as in No. 3 (Abdulrahman).

LEGEND : محمد [رسول الله] عبدالله

REVERSE :—Blank.

No. 6. Copper : size,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ; weight, 18 grains.

OBVERSE : Central device as in No. 3, around which in a circular scroll may be partially read the formula لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له .

REVERSE :—Centre device composed of the name of عبدالله Abdul-lah ; the two portions عبد and الله being crossed at right angles, in somewhat of accord with the scheme of the obverse device.

The marginal legend is arranged in the form of a square and consists of the words محمد رسول الله [الا] مير .

No. 7. Silver: size, 2; weight, 8.4 grains.<sup>1</sup> Devices are discontinued and replaced by simple Kufic legends, as follows:

OBVERSE:— لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

REVERSE:— محمد رسول الله الامير عبدالله

No. 8. Copper, of similar legends. Other specimens vary in the division of the words, and omit the title of *Al Amir*.

#### OMAR.<sup>2</sup>

No. 9. Silver: size, 1½; weight, 9 grains. Five specimens.

OBVERSE:—No figured device. Legends arranged in five lines.

بالله محمد رسول الله عمر

Marginal lines, plain or dotted, complete the piece.

REVERSE:—Kufic legends alone in three lines.

بالح بنو عمروية النصر

No. 10. Copper: size, 4; weight, 35 grains. Common.

Legends as in the silver coins, with the exception that the بنو is placed, for economy of space, in the opening between the ل's of بالله. The die execution of these pieces is generally very inferior.

No. 11. Copper: size, 3½; weight, 21 grains. Unique.

OBVERSE:—Blank.

REVERSE:—

Centre: بنو — عمروية النصر

Margin: — س بالمنصورة ستة أربع ؟

#### OMAR (?)

No. 12. Copper: size, 4½; weight, 36 grains. Mr. Frere, unique.

<sup>1</sup> [Among the silver coins exhumed from the so-called Bráhmañabád some are so minute, as to weigh only 1.2 gr.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am inclined to identify this ruler with the Omar bin Abdallah, above indicated as the reigning sovereign of Mansúrah, at the period of the geographer Masúdi's visit to the valley of the Indus, and of whom he speaks further in the following terms:—'There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Mansúrah and the family of esh-Shawárib, the Kadi, for the kings of el-Mansúrah are of the family of Habbár ben el-Aswad, and have the name of Beni 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Ayiz el-Karshi, who is to be distinguished from 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Ayiz ben Merwán, the Omaiyide (Khalif)'.—Sprenger's 'Meadows of Gold,' p. 385. See also Gildemeister, quoting 'Ibn Hankál,' p. 166, and Elliot, citing the same author ('Historians of India'), p. 63.]

OBVERSE:—Central device, four lines crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a species of star of eight points; four of these are, however, rounded off by dots.

LEGEND, arranged as a square:

محمد رسول الله —

with single dots at the corner angles, and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside of each word.

*Margin*: Two plain lines, with an outer circle of dots.

REVERSE: Central legend in three lines within a triple circle composed of dots, circlets, and an inner plain line. I transcribe the legend, with due reservation, as:

بنه بالله عمرويه النصر

## XXI.—ADDITIONS TO BACTRIAN NUMISMATICS, AND DISCOVERY OF THE BACTRIAN ALPHABET.

(JULY, 1838.)

It is not an easy matter to gratify my numismatical readers with a plate of entirely new Bactrian coins so frequently as they would wish; for, independently of the time and labour requisite for engraving them, the subject, as to new names at least, may be looked upon now as nearly exhausted. Opportunities, however, still occur of verifying doubtful readings, of supplying names where they were erased or wanting in former specimens, and of presenting slight varieties in costume, attitude, and other particulars, which tend to complete the pictorial history of the Bactrian coinage.

For these several objects I enjoyed a most favorable opportunity during the visit of General Ventura to Calcutta last winter; his second collection, though possessing few types or names absolutely new, boasted of many very well preserved specimens of the small silver coinage of Menander, Apollodotus, Lysias, Antimachus, Philoxenes, etc. The General most liberally conceded to me, from his abundant store, several that were wanting to my own cabinet, both of silver and

copper ; and he placed the rest also at my disposal, to draw, examine, and describe, as I might feel inclined. Unfortunately, I refused to take charge of the Indo-Scythic gold series for examination, finding nothing particularly new among them, the consequence of which was that the whole were stolen by some sharper at the hotel where the General was residing, and none have since been recovered ! I am now speaking of last January ! Since then I have received a coin and drawings of several others from Gen. Court ; also two or three from Gen. Allard ; and, latterly, the whole produce of Capt. Burnes' search in the neighbourhood of Kábul have been entrusted to my care. It is the very latest arrival from him (or rather from a valuable member of his expedition, Dr. Lord), consisting of two beautiful coins of Eucratides, that stimulates me at once to give forth all that have accumulated in my Bactrian drawer since I last wrote on the subject. I must give Dr. Lord's coins the first place, because one of them is, perhaps, the most curious and important that has yet fallen into our hands.

Plate xlii. contains etchings of both of these coins to which I would thus draw prominent attention. Dr. Lord thus describes the place and circumstances of their discovery :—

‘ I do myself the pleasure to forward two coins, which I have been so fortunate as to find during my late visit to Turkistán. The double-headed coin I found at Tash Korghán, the other at Kundúz.’

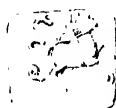
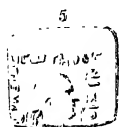
Fig. 2 I need not particularly describe, as, though new to us, it has been published from other specimens in France. The reverse has a naked figure of Apollo in lieu of the Dioscuri.

Fig. 1 is an unique medallion (that is, a tetradrachma) of Eucratides.

OBVERSE :—A fine youthful head and bust of the king wearing a plain steel helmet, with the bands of the diadem protruding behind.











On the area above and below—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ in the nominative case.

REVERSE :—Busts of a man and a woman looking to the right : hair simple and without diadem ; legend above ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, below ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Supplying the word *uios*, we have here the parentage of Eucratides developed in a most unexpected way : 'The great king Eucratides, son of Heliocles and Laodice.' The former is a well-known Greek name, but it is evident from the absence of title and diadem that he was a private person, and yet that his son, having found his way to the throne, was not ashamed of his unregal origin.<sup>1</sup>

I have long been pledged to my readers to give them a new alphabet for these Bactrian legends, and I think the time has now arrived when I may venture to do so ; or at least to make known the modifications which have been elicited by the abundance of fresh names and finely preserved specimens which have passed under my eye since that epoch. It must be remembered that the only incontestible authority for the determination of a vowel or consonant is its constant employment as the equivalent of the same Greek letter in the proper names of the Bactrian kings. Beyond this we have only analogies and resemblances to other alphabets to help us, and the conjectural assumption of such values for the letters that occur in the titles and epithets of royalty as

<sup>1</sup> [I have omitted some of Prinsep's original speculations in regard to the Indian origin of Eucratides' mother, that he was led into by the faulty drawing of the coin supplied to him by Mr. Masson, and which the sealing wax impression of the original in his possession did not enable him to rectify until new information reached him at the moment of the publication of the current number of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' when the error was unhesitatingly corrected by a fly-leaf note.]

may furnish an admissible translate of the Greek in each and every case.

It will be my object presently to show that this can be done, as far as the coins are concerned, by means of the Sanskrit or rather the Pálí language; but in the first place it will be more convenient to bring forward my revised scheme of the alphabet as far as it is yet matured. Unfortunately the exceeding looseness of orthography and caligraphy which could not but prevail when one foreign language (for such it was to the Greek die-cutters) was attempted to be rendered by the ear in another character, equally foreign to the language and to the scribes, with abundance of examples before me, renders it almost impossible to select the true model of some letters for the type-founder!<sup>1</sup>

I begin with the initial vowels :

γ, *a*. This symbol continues to occupy the place of the vowel *a* in all the new names lately added to our list, beginning with the Greek *α*, of which we have now no less than seven examples. The other short initials appear to be formed by modifications of the alif as in the Arabic, thus :

γ, γ *e*, is constantly employed for the *ε* of Greek names.

⌐ *u*, is found following it in the word Eucratides, as though put for the Greek *υ*, but other evidence is wanting.

ƒ [with the head-line reversed], *i* <sup>2</sup> though seldom met with on the coins, is common in the inscriptions, and by analogy may be set down as *i*.

.) *á* [the Numismatic *an*, plate xi.], is employed in words beginning with *AN*.

The medials seem to be formed in all cases by a peculiar system of

<sup>1</sup> [It will be seen that under the combined poverty and imperfection of the only Bactrian type available in Europe, I have had much difficulty in doing justice to Prinsep's latest revision of this alphabet. As my author's own forms were often faulty and defective, it was of course useless to reproduce the deficient letters, or to do more than indicate as nearly as possible, though necessarily in somewhat of a patchwork manner, the essential position in which he left the study of Arian palæography.]

diacritical marks; of these the *i* is the best determined, being found applied to almost all the consonants in the form of a small stroke crossing the letter. The *d* is uncertain; it may be a prolongation below in the *r*,—a foot stroke or *mātra*. The *e*, I judge from the Manikyāla inscription, to be a detached stroke behind and above; in a few cases only joined. The *u* may be the loop so often seen at the foot of the written letters. I feel it to be a little premature thus to assign sounds without any positive authority; but it was from a similar assumption of the value of its vowel marks that I was led to the discovery of the Indian pillar alphabet.

With regard to the consonants, I ought, perhaps, to follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet; but, as the language to be expressed is allied to the Sanskrit, it may be more convenient to analyze them in the order of the latter.

𑀅, *ka*. This letter on further scrutiny I find invariably to represent *k*; and its place is never taken on the coins by 𑀆, as I formerly supposed. It occurs also with the vowel affix *i*, as *ki*; also, but seldom, with the *u*, as *ku*; and with the subjoined *r*, as *kra*. In the compounds, *kla*, *kli*, a form is adopted more like the Hebrew *q p* (quere *ח*). There are two or three examples in support of it.

𑀇, *kh*, is limited as such to the name of Antimachou; but I find it also representing the *g* in Abagasou. In the written tablets we have various forms seemingly identical with it; yet one of these, with the vowel *i*, is used in some places for *dhi* (intended for the inflected *i* ?). There is no small affinity between them and 𑀈, 𑀉, the *kh* of the old Sanskrit written invertedly.

[1st, see second form of Numismatic 𑀊; 2nd, the same inflected with *r*; 3rd, the compound represented by the eleventh letter in the inscription from the brass cylinder, pl. vi., vol. i.] I place these forms here because they occur several times in the tablets, and they bear some resemblance to the *g* of the Pehlvi.

Of the Sanskrit palatials neither the Greek nor the Chaldaic alphabets contain any proper examples—the *ch* and *j* are modified to *s* and *ts*—which letters we must expect to find substituted for the Sanskrit class च छ ज झ.

[No. 1, a *v* reversed; 2, a *d* reversed. See Numismatic *chh*, pl. xv.] The first of these forms is found at the close of a series of words terminating each in the same vowel inflection, *'*, *e*; which makes me suppose it to be the Sanskrit conjunction *cha*, uniting a string of epithets in the locative case. As yet I have no stronger argument for its adoption.

𑀌, or 𑀍, *ja* (*tsa* ?). The form of the Chaldaic *ts* 𐤌, agrees well with

the first; indeed, in many coins of Azes, the Bactrian form is identical with the Chaldaic. I find that in every case this letter may be best represented by the Sanskrit ञ, *j*; and, indeed, in the early coins of Apollodotus, etc., its duplicated form [the fourth letter in Maharāja, pl. xii.] seems to be copied from the ancient Sanskrit ए, reversed in conformity with the direction of the writing. The only inflection I have met with of this letter is *ju*.

I can make no discrimination between cerebrals and dentals; because the Greek names translated have of course no such distinctions, but from the variety of symbols to which the force of *d* and *t* must be ascribed, I incline to think the alphabet is provided with a full complement, though it is in the first place indeed almost a matter of option which letter to call *d*, *t*, *r*, or *n*, they are all so much alike—thus for *t* we have ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, and ṭ, and with the vowel *i*, ṭi, ṭi, etc.

As the equivalent of *d* again we have the same ṭ, ṭ, ṭ, and also three other forms [1st, the second of the fifth Tradata, pl. xii; 2nd, the third of Menander; 3rd, the penultimate in No. 32, pl. xii.]: and for *dhi*, [*dhri* and *dhi*] the formerly evidently ṭ with ṭ subjoined; the latter quasi *tthi* or *ddi*: sometimes it is nearer ṭ *ri*.

I do not attribute this ambiguity to the letters themselves so much as to the carelessness and ignorance of the writers, who might pronounce the foreign name Apollodotus, indifferently Apalātada, Apaladata, and even Apalanata. Being obliged to make a choice, I assume as in my former paper—

ṭ, ṭ, for *ta*, whence the various inflections.

ṭ, *tta*, *tha*, commonly used for *dh*, and its inflections.

ṭ ṭ, ṭ, for *da*, *nda*.

ṭ, *na*. I do not perceive any indications of the other nasals, and indeed, they seem to be omitted when joined to another consonant: but I find something corresponding to the *anuswara* attached below the vowel *a*, and before consonants it seems represented by *m*.

ṭ *pa*. The first of the labials is one of the best established letters. It has been discovered also inflected, and united with either *h* or *s* in ṭ *pha* or *spa*: also with *li* in *pli*, and in other combinations which will be noticed as they are brought forward.

ṭ, ṭ, *pha* or *fa*? I have no stronger reasons than before for continuing this value to ṭ:—it seems in some few cases to usurp the place of *v*; it is inflected also.

*Ba*? is still undetermined; in the doubtful name above quoted, ΑΒΑΓΑΣΟΤ, it seems to be replaced by ṭ or ṭ—the aspirate is also unknown.

ṭ *ma* ṭ. This letter admits of no doubt whatever; but in the

Menander form,  $\text{𑀓}$ , I now recognize the inflection *me*, corresponding with the Greek name more closely. The second or what may be called the printed form of *m* has a considerable affinity in form with the old Sanskrit  $\text{म}$  or  $\text{𑀕}$ , whence it may be almost as readily derived as the Burmese form of the Páli *m*.

$\text{𑀔}$  *ya*. This letter is unchanged : it invariably replaces *z* and *y*, and sometimes *j* where the latter would be expressed by the Sanskrit  $\text{य}$  or  $\text{ज}$ . It may perchance have been modified from the letter, for in some examples it is turned up on the sides thus,  $\text{𑀔}$  ; the inflected form *yi* is of common occurrence : *yu* less common.

$\text{𑀕}$ ,  $\text{𑀖}$ , *s*, *ra*. It is necessary to preserve these three representatives of *r* ; I incline to think that the prolongation below may be the *mātra* or the long *á* inflection, *rá* ; for the first form is used in Ermaïou where there is no intervening vowel. It is only distinguishable from *d* by the foot-mark of the latter, which seems to be often omitted notwithstanding.

$\text{𑀗}$ , *la*. Further acquaintance has taught me that this is the only representative of *l* in Greek names : the instances wherein the *l* before appeared to be replaced by  $\text{𑀗}$  have been disproved by duplicate coins. The inflected form  $\text{𑀘}$ , *li*, has numerous examples among our new acquisitions.

$\text{𑀙}$  *va*, and *vi*, rest on strong but not indisputable authority, as will be seen below.

$\text{𑀚}$ ,  $\text{𑀛}$ , *ha*, has been removed from its former position as *h* on ample grounds ; and the value now assigned has, I think, equally strong support—though as far as Greek names are concerned it rests solely on the initial syllable of Heliocles, *he*. There is, again, a similarity worthy of remark between  $\text{𑀚}$  inverted, and the old Sanskrit *ha*,  $\text{ह}$ ,  $\text{𑀌}$ .

$\text{𑀜}$ , *sa*. To this letter I gave the sound of *o* on the former occasion, because I found it the general termination of nominatives masculine in Zend and Páli—replacing the Sanskrit *visarga*, *ah* or *as*. Since then I have found the same letter (affected with the vowel *i*) in two Greek names as the equivalent of *si*, and I am too happy on other considerations to adopt this as its constant value ; whether the dental *s* of the Sanskrit will best represent it remains to be seen, but the nearest approximation in form occurs in the Hebrew  $\text{ס}$  *s* : there are certainly two other characters [one like a *k*, or  $\text{𑀝}$ ], and  $\text{𑀞}$ , having the force of *s* or *sh*. The former I should presume to be the Sanskrit *sha*  $\text{श}$ , from its likeness to the old form  $\text{𑀟}$ . The latter,  $\text{𑀞}$ , may be a variation of  $\text{𑀟}$ , for which it is sometimes used, but rather by change of the Greek *z* to *z*, than as being the same letter, for elsewhere it takes the place of the Greek *z* as in  $\text{ΑΖΙΑΙΣΟΤ}$ , while  $\text{Λ}$  occurs for *z* in the same word. In

form it seems to be the Chaldaic  $\eta$ , or *th* soft. Several inflections of these letters have been observed.

It will be naturally expected that the alterations I have been compelled to adopt in the value of many of the above letters must produce considerable modifications in my former interpretation of the Bactrian legends. Indeed, when I look back at my attempt of 1835, I must confess that it was very unsatisfactory even to myself. I was misled by the Nakshi-rustam trilingual inscription, wherein the title of king of kings has been uniformly read as *malakán malaká*, though I balanced between this and the term *maharáo*, having found PAO on the Indo-Scythic series. But, once perceiving that the final letter might be rendered as *sa*, which is the regular Pálí termination of the genitive case, I threw off the fetters of an interpretation through the Semitic languages, and at once found an easy solution of all the names and the epithets through the pliant, the wonder-working Pálí, which seems to have held an universal sway during the prevalence of the Buddhist faith in India.

The best test of the superiority of a Pálí interpretation will be found in its application to the several royal titles of the Greek kings, which were previously quite unintelligible. The first of these is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, which is constantly rendered by פארו maharájasa, the Pálí form of महाराजस्य. It is true that there is some doubt whether the long vowel *á* is here applied to the *h* and *r*; but we have long since been accustomed to the omission of this and even other vowels in the Satrap coins of Suráshtra. The word is often written פארו, whence I have supposed the dot or dash below to stand for *á*.

The next title is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝ, which we find replaced by mahárájasa rájarájasa, a perfectly sound and proper expression according to the idiom of the Sanskrit. But in one class of coins, that of Azes, there are some very well preserved specimens, in which the second part of the title is פארו, which is evidently rájátirájasa (or *adhi*, for the letter has a turn at foot, and may be meant for *dhi*), the regular राजाधिराजस्य of the paramount sovereigns of India. The syllable *dhi* is often written  $\eta$  *ti*,  $\star$  *ri*, or even  $\eta$  *ti* or *gi* (?) but the vowel *i* shews what is meant.

To the title of king of kings is generally added on the Greek side the epithet ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ, for which we have an addition in Bactrian of the word פארו mahatasa, one of the forms of the Pálí genitive of mahán (or *mahat*) great, which makes only mahatah महतः in Sanskrit. The full title then is thus found to be mahárájasa rájadhirájasa mahatasa, which is far preferable to the clumsy and unsatisfactory malakao kak-kao malako of my former paper, now rectified by the rejection of  $\gamma$  as *ka*.

The next title in the list is  $\Sigma\alpha\theta\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , for which we have rather a dubious word of four letters, either *dadatasa* or *nandatasa*, the former equivalent to ददतः the bestower of *dána*, a word comprehending protection as well as charity;—the latter to नन्दतः 'of the giver of pleasure.'

The epithet of next frequency is  $\text{ANIKHTOY}$ , the unconquered, which is translated by *apavihatasa* (Sans. अपविहतस्), the unbeaten or invincible. It is this word principally which leads me to make  $\text{P}^{\text{va}}$ , and to distinguish it from  $\text{ti}$  and  $\text{li}$ , with the latter of which I before confounded it.

Next in order comes the somewhat similar expression  $\text{NIKH}\phi\text{OPOT}$ ; but the correct definition of this epithet is preserved in *jayadharasa*, the bearer of victory. In one instance the *dh* is written separately  $\text{P}^{\text{dh}}\text{P}^{\text{va}}\text{P}^{\text{ja}}$ ; in others (like the *dh* of *adhi*) it is *jayadarasa*, but there can be little doubt of the sense; and this word is a strong confirmation of the value of the letter  $\text{P}^{\text{ja}}$ , or  $\text{P}^{\text{ja}}$ .

There is a second epithet of nearly the same signification which is common enough on the Seleucidan coins, but comparatively rare on those of Bactria,  $\text{NIKATOPOT}$ . This epithet was found on the unique coin of Amyntas, of which Col. Stacy was unfortunately robbed, and on one or two others. In the Bactrian translation the same word is used in every case as for  $\text{NIKH}\phi\text{OPOT}$ , namely, *jayadharasa*, the possessor of victory, or the victorious.

There remains but one epithet to be accounted for (for  $\phi\text{IAONATOPOT}$  of the Apollodotus unique coin does not seem to be translated):—it occurs on the coins of Heliocles, Spalurmes, and Archelies; I mean  $\text{AIKAIOT}$  'the just'—a rare epithet in any but the Arsacidan line of kings. This is everywhere rendered by *dhamikasa* (Sans. धर्मिकस्) the exact expression required, and one constantly applied to Indian kings.

I am wrong in saying that the epithets are here exhausted, for on the unique coin of Agathocleia in Dr. Swiney's possession there is a singular epithet  $\text{ΘEOYPOYOT}$ , 'heavenly dispositioned,' yet unaccounted for: of these, the two or three first letters are lost, and the last two  $\text{P}^{\text{ja}}$  *tasa* may terminate *devamatasa* or some such simple translation. It is a curious fact that the name of the queen does not appear to be feminine in the Bactrian legend; and the title *mahārājasa* is also in the masculine.

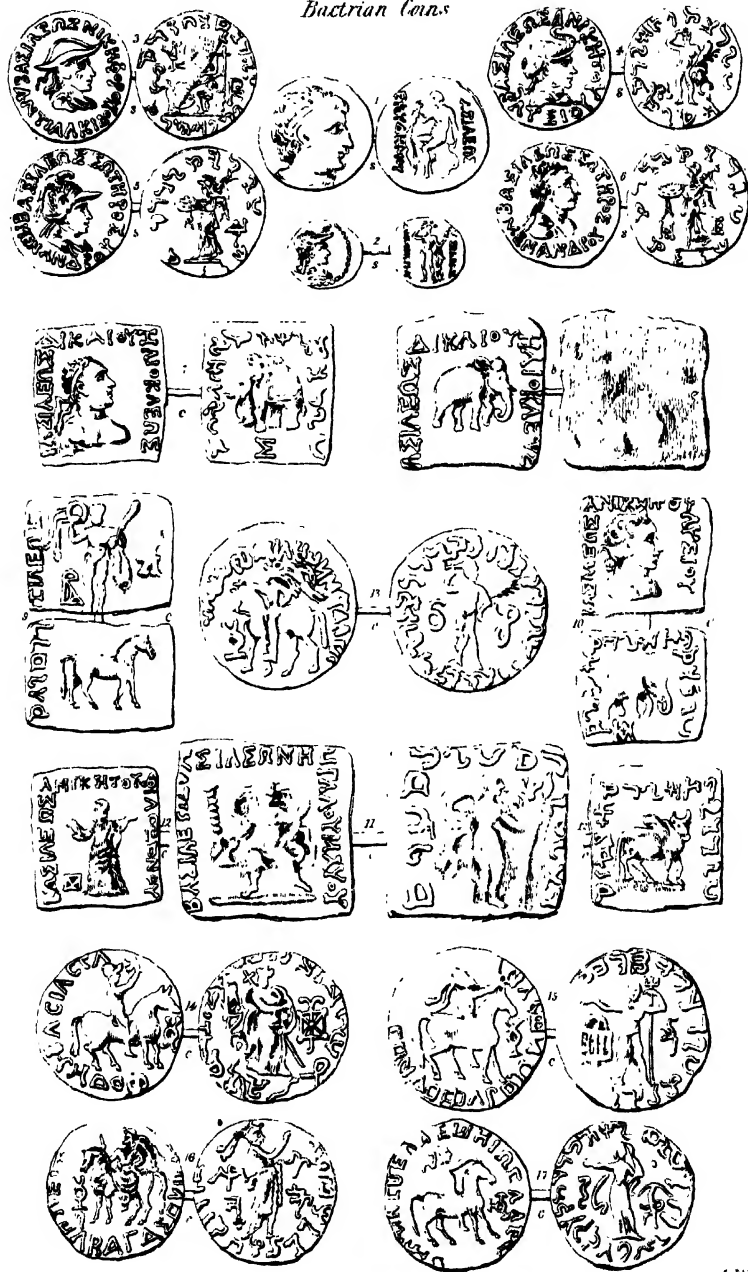
There is another expression on a coin of Spalurmes, viz., 'king's brother,'  $\Sigma\text{ΠΑΥΤΜΟΣ AIKAIOT AΔΕΛΦOT TOT BACIΛEΩΣ}$ , the Bactrian translation of which at first seemed inexplicable; but, by means of







Bactrian Coins







third), having a Hercules for reverse, commences another series of native names, forming what we have designated the Kadphises or Kadaphes group. After the change from ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ on the obverse, to ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ, we have still precisely the same reverse as before, and it is preserved through a numerous series;—the title of mahárāja is not to be found, nor is it easy to see where to commence either the Greek reading ΚΟΖΩΛΑ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ or the Bactrian, which may be transcribed *dhama . . rata Kujulakasa sabashakha (?) Kadaphasa*:—in this reading, if we can make out nothing else, there are at the least two names, *Kosoula* (also written *Kozulo* and *Kozola*), and *Kadphizes* (also written *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*), accounted for. The distinctions on the small coin of ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΔΦΕC I am unable as yet to make out for want of further samples.

Connected with the same family we then come to the long inscription on the Mokadphises coins, which may be read by comparison of a great many examples:—

*Mahdrājasa rajadhirājasa sabatracha ihacha mahiharasa dhi makadphīśasa nandata.*

‘Of the great sovereign, the king of kings, both here and everywhere seizing the earth, etc., Mokadphises, the saviour?’

I do not insist upon any of these epithets, *sabatra mahidharasa*, for in fact they vary in every specimen. The *Jhi* also looks in many coins more like *dha*, quasi *dhama Kadphīśasa*. On some the reading is rather *sabalasa saviratasa mahichhitasa* महीषितः sovereign?). On some gold coins, again, the name more resembles *vavahima Kadphīśasa*, agreeing with the Greek ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC.

It remains only to apply my theory of the Bactrian alphabet to the inscriptions on the cylinders and stone slabs extracted from the topes at Manikyāla, etc., but this is a task of much more serious difficulty, and one not to be done off-hand, as all the rest has been! I must, therefore, postpone the attempt until I am better prepared with my lesson; and, meantime, I will proceed to describe briefly the contents of

#### PLATE XLIII.

Fig. 1 is a small silver Euthydemus in Capt. Burnes' collection: it resembles exactly the medallions already published of the same prince. Weight, 62 grs. See pl. xxv., vol. iv., fig. 1, ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’

Fig. 2 is a hemidrachma of Demetrius also belonging to Captain Burnes. See one figured from General Ventura's collection, pl. xiii., fig. 2.

Fig. 3, a silver coin of Antialcidas, presented to me by General Ventura. Execution very good. Weight 10½ grains.

OBVERSE:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΑΟΥ. Head of the king with a flat helmet shaped like a cocked hat:—chlamys on the shoulders, and diadem seen under the hat.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Mahdrājasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa*. Jupiter

seated holding a small figure of victory:—at his feet to the right, the forepart of a small elephant with trunk elevated. Monogram on the left composed of P and  $\nabla$ <sup>1</sup>.

Fig. 4, a similar drachma of Lysias, belonging to General Ventura: unique.

OBVERSE:— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$ . Head of the king, with the Demetrius helmet, shaped like an elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Mahdrajasa apavihatasa Lisiasa*. (The copper square pieces have *Listikasa*). Hercules naked standing, with club and lionskin, as on the coins of Demetrius.

Figs. 5, 6. Two varieties of Menander, not yet depicted in the journal, given to me by General Ventura, who has many of a similar nature. In one the prince wears a handsome helmet, in the other he has the simple diadem. The reverse of both agrees with the one engraved in pl. xiv., fig. 1, except that Minerva looks in the contrary direction.

#### HELIOCLES, KING OF BACTRIA.

Fig. 7. The first coin of Heliocles which I have yet seen in India. It belongs to General Ventura. A square copper or bronze piece in excellent preservation.

OBVERSE:— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ}$ . Diadem'd head of the 'just king, Heliocles,' somewhat similar in features to Eucratides.

REVERSE. Bactrian legend, *Maharajasa dhamikasa Heliyaklayasa*:<sup>2</sup> an elephant equipped with howdah and trappings walking to the right; monogram  $\Sigma$ .

Fig. 8. A less perfect coin of the same king presented by the General to myself.

In lieu of the head of Heliocles, the obverse bears an elephant, naked, walking to the left, Greek legend as above. The reverse is irrecoverably lost.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary here to retract my former doubts of the existence of a Heliocles in the Bactrian dynasty, since they have long been removed by the account of the silver medals in France. We have as yet seen none but these two copper specimens in India, but the probability is that both silver and copper might be found in Bactria proper, to the north of the Hindu Kush or Imaus.

An opinion has been started by Mionnet, in opposition to many European numismatists, that Heliocles was no other than Eucratides the second, the parricide. The surname of  $\DeltaΙΚΑΙΟΥΣ$ , so unsuitable to such a character, he supposes given through fear or adulation, which I agree with M. R. Rochette in thinking too great an anomaly to be allowable: but without seeking to account for this staggering circumstance, we can now help M. Mionnet to a very powerful argument in his favour from the unique coin of Dr. Lord described in a former part of this paper, which proves that Eucratides' father was a Heliocles; and we know that it was common to call an eldest son by his grand-

<sup>1</sup> N.B. The etching of this coin is a total failure: the plate was laid by for several months and the acid would then barely touch it. In retracing it, the native engraver has quite wandered from my original, and I perceive it too late for alteration on more than half the edition of the plate.

<sup>2</sup> The ante-penultimate letter might be better read *Sra*, or *Sri*: which would give a Sanskrit version of the name,—*hēlyasriyasya*, 'having a sun-like prosperity.'

father's name, as is, indeed, universally the custom to the present day both in Eastern and Western countries.

Fig. 9. I have introduced this duplicate of the single mutilated coin depicted in fig. 8, pl. xv., among the then doubtful group, because [General Ventura's present specimen exhibits the name in the Bactrian,  $\text{𐎱𐎠𐎡𐎹}$  *ayasa*, and thus proves it to belong to the abundant series of AZES' coins.

Fig. 10 is a square copper coin of Lysias kindly added to my cabinet by General Ventura.

It is in better preservation than any before published.

OBVERSE:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΣ ΑΤΤΙΩΤ. Head of Lysias, with diadem. Mionnet says of a similar coin, 'représenté en Hercule, la massue sur l'épaule gauche'—but I do not perceive these characteristics very distinctly.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Mahdrajasa apavihatasa lisikasa*, 'of the unconquered king *Lisika*.'

I perceive that both Mionnet and M. Raoul Rochette give to Lysias the square coins of Spalyries or Spalurmes; though there is no resemblance whatever between them. M. Raoul Rochette writes in the 'Journal des Savants,' Mars, 1836, p. 136:—

‘ Cette autre médaille de Lysias diffère sous tous les rapports de celles que nous possédions déjà du même prince : elle est restée inconnue,<sup>1</sup> à tous les savants et voyageurs Anglais qui, depuis plusieurs années se sont appliqués avec un zèle si louable à recueillir ces précieux monuments de la civilisation Grecque enfouis dans le sol de l’Inde . et l’exemplaire que nous devons à M. le général Allard, et que je publie, est encore unique. La fabrique, qui ressemble à celle de la médaille du roi anonyme, que j’ai fait connaître,<sup>2</sup> accuse sensiblement une époque de décadence, d’accord avec la forme carrée du □ et de l’ □ qui commencent à paraître sur la monnaie des Arsacides, à partir de Phraate III. à une époque qui doit s’éloigner bien peu de l’âge de notre Lysias. On pourrait voir un autre rapport entre cette monnaie Bactrienne et les médailles du même prince Arsacide, dans le titre de juste, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ, qui se lit habituellement sur les médailles de Phraate III. . . . mais ce qui constitue ici la particularité la plus remarquable et la plus neuve, c’est la qualification d’ Adelphe, ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤ, affectée par Lysias, &c.”

When the mistake of attributing this coin to the wrong person is corrected, it is curious how perfectly the observations of the learned antiquarian of Paris confirm the conjecture to which I have been led by the deciphering of the Bactrian legend:—the coin is that of the ‘son of a king Spalahara or Balahara;’ in bearing the effigy of Hercules it agrees with the corrupted coins of Hermæus II. and others

<sup>1</sup> The drawing of the very coin described by M. R. R. was published by myself in June, 1835, but I did not deem the name legible, nor has it proved so at Paris, by their making Lysiou out of Spalurmou. I stated my reason for not publishing earlier to be, that I might not forestall the 'As. Soc. of Paris' in describing General Ventura's splendid collection.

<sup>2</sup> It is not obvious in what this great resemblance consists;—one coin is square, the other round:—one has a Greek legend only; the other a bilingual one—the equestrian figure is the obverse in one, the reverse in the other. The anonymous coin was first published in the 'Asiatic Researches' in 1831, and in the *Journal* for 1833 and 1834.



of the Pherres or Phrahetasa (Phraates?) type, which appear to belong to one family. M. R. R. agrees with our discoverer Masson in locating them in an Indo-Greek dynasty at Nysa, or near Jelálábád, where their coins are found in the greatest abundance.

I have introduced an engraving of a very perfect specimen of this coin given to me by Mr. Trevelyan, who got it from Mohan Lál, as fig. 3 of pl. xlii.

It may be remembered that the name of Vonones is not found on the Bactrian side of his coins, but a totally different word,  $\text{𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓}$  *Balaharasa* as I read it, or perhaps *Baláharasa* ( $\text{बलाहरस}$ ), the patron of champions, a term nearly equivalent to 'Satrap.' Now on all the coins of Spalyrises (or Spalurmes) hitherto found, the initial letter has been unfortunately cut off; but the three next are *lahára*, the same as above, wanting only the final genitive inflection: the next letters may be read *putasa*, for ( $\text{पुवस}$ ) 'of the son.' Putting the whole together we have ( $\text{𑀧 Ba}$ ) *láharaputasa dhamikasa Balafaramasa*, 'of Balafarama (either for Balaparama, or  $\text{बसवर्म}$ , whose strength is his armour) the just, the son of Baláhara.' Therefore, as he was brother of the contemporary of Vonones, 'the then king' must also have been a son of the same person: and we should expect to find another coin of a somewhat similar type struck by him. These conditions are satisfactorily combined in the rude square coin of Spalirises, depicted in pl. xv. and pl. xxviii., fig. 7. He has the same flowing mantle from the shoulders, the sceptre of royalty, and his native name appears to be Balirishasa: thus the father's native name is Baláhara; the eldest son's Balirisha, and the second son's Balavarina, and the copper money of the whole triad is distinguished for its exceeding rudeness no less than its conformability of type! The silver money of Spalurmes and Spalirises has not yet been found, or we might probably find that it maintained the name of Vonones, the Parthian king, or his successor, on the obverse.

The style of these three names commencing with Bala,—and the title in particular of the first, Baláhara,—call to mind the Balhára dynasty of north-western India, of which the epoch cannot be said to be yet well defined. One of the earliest foreign authorities, the historian Masoudi, who wrote in 947 A.D., says:—'The dynasty of Phoor, who was overcome by Alexander, (had) lasted 140 years: then came that of Dabschelim, which lasted 120 years: that of Yalith was next, and lasted 80 years, some say 130. The next dynasty was that of Courros: it lasted 120 years. Then the Indians divided and formed several kingdoms; there was a king in the country of Sind; one at Kanauj; another in Kashmir; and a fourth in the city of Mankir

(Minnagara?) called also the great Houza, and the prince who reigned there had the title of Balhára.'<sup>1</sup>

120 + 80 + 120 = 320 years, estimated from Alexander's time, brings us to B.C. 3, or, allowing a few more years to Porus, say 10 or 20 A.D. Now, the reign of Vonones I. as king of Parthia is dated by Vaillant from A.D. 6 to A.D. 20, so that the accordance of time is here perfect, and we need seek no other explanation of the paramount Persian sovereign's name and effigy on one side, while the other modestly bore that of his tributary, because we have witnessed the same in the Satrap coins of Suráshtra. The native kings were apparently allowed to have the copper coin to themselves. The religion here, however, is polytheistic, the effigy that of Hercules or Baladeva.

Without insisting upon their being the same person, I cannot help mentioning that the name of Balarishi is found as one of four brothers by different mothers, who cut a conspicuous figure in Indian fable. Balarishi, Vikramarka, Bali, and Bhartrihari; the second of these is the celebrated Vikramáditya, whose reign falls 56 years before Christ, and he was the son of one Gandha-rupa, or, as the fable has it, of a *gandharva*, in the mortal disguise of an ass. Wilford interprets the tale by making Vikramáditya the son of Bahram Gor of Persia by an Indian princess, and, to account for the anachronism of 400 years, is forced to imagine there were several kings of the same name,—which would be likely enough if he admitted (as seems certain from our coins) that Vikramáditya is a mere title. We shall presently allude again to this circumstance.

Fig. 11. From General Ventura's collection. A more perfect specimen of a hitherto illegible coin. It is now seen to belong to Mayes.

OBVERSE:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ. Front figure of the king seated on a chair or throne, a shawl (?) on his shoulders, and a club or knotted sceptre in his right hand like that given to Mokadphises.

REVERSE:—Much worn and indistinct, a female holding some object like a scarf with both hands, and having a flowing robe behind, like that of the Vonones group. Bactrian legend, *rajadhirajasa mahatasa maasa*, and on the field  $\omega\lambda$  used numerically (?)

The discovery of this rare specimen, only the third known of the prince whose name it bears,<sup>2</sup> will be highly gratifying to the numismatists of Paris. It will, in the first place, remove the doubt entertained by M. Raoul Rochette himself whether the un-Greek appellation Mayes might not be used for *Mao*, 'the moon,' as a divinity and not as a king; or whether, united to the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, the compound may

<sup>1</sup> Wilford's Essay, 'Asiatic Researches,' ix., 181.

<sup>2</sup> I have just received another Mayes of different type from Capt. Burnes too late for insertion here.—J.P.

not be equivalent to the name of Apollodotus : 'ce n'est là, du reste, qu'une conjecture que je soumets avec beaucoup de défiance aux lumières de nos philologues indianistes, desquels seuls il est permis d'espérer la solution de ce curieux problème.'

The problem is now solved so far that we find him an earthly sovereign with similar titles to those of Azes,—and that he is not Apollodotus! The native name, composed of three letters, I should have formerly read MAO, but on the new, and I think correct, system now adopted, it must be read *Má-asa* or *Mayusa*, as near an approach to the Greek, or by the Greek to it, as the relative alphabets would allow. Of the name itself, I am inclined to identify it neither with *Maia*, the mother of Mercury (though the caduceus favors this idea, and the Indian *Máyá* is also the mother of Buddha), nor with *Mao*, as lunus,—though Chandra is a common name enough,—but rather with *Máyu* (मायुराजः), the son of Kuvera, the god of riches (whose name also is frequently adopted by princes),<sup>1</sup> and it may have been borne by a contemporary or successor of Apollodotus, who swayed the sceptre but a short period in some part of the Panjáb, if it is necessary to suppose them of the same age.

#### PHILOXENES.

Fig. 12. A square copper coin in most respects agreeing with the former one, also of General Ventura's collection, but having apparently a difference in the orthography of the Bactrian name. On comparing the drawing of the silver Philoxenes in the 'Journal des Savans,' with the rapid sketch I had taken of the same coin while in Calcutta, I perceive that I read the name and title wrong; which is my reason for inserting this better preserved coin:—the legend is clearly *maharajasa apavihasasa plijasinasasa* (or *Philásinasasa*). On the silver coin the epithet is *apavihasasa* (quasi अपविहसस्य)—not to be laughed at! but I think the *s* must be a blunder.

M. Raoul Rochette judges from the military aspect of Philoxenes that he was a satrap placed with a regal title on the north frontier of the Bactrian kingdom when threatened by the Scythians; but the circumstance of none of his coins having been found by Masson in the upper field, while several have come to light in the Panjáb, would tend to contradict this hypothesis, as much as the *Ceres Carpophore*, or abundance personified, and humped bull of his copper coin. This learned critic does not allow that the brahmany bull has any reference to India, because it is seen on the Seleucidan coins; but in the only specimen I have in my cabinet of a Seleucus with a bull reverse, the animal is altogether of the European breed.

<sup>1</sup> See notes on the Allahábád inscription, Nov. 1837, p. 972—*Palaká Ugrasena devardshtraka Kuvera*. As the Parthian kings were styled *devajanita*, this country of the devas may have been in the north, as was indeed the fabulous country of Kuvera, the god-king.

## COINS OF THE AZES GROUP.

A great deal remains to be done ere we shall be able to clear the history of this numerous and interesting series of coins. Every day new types and varieties spring up, generally of tinned copper or bronze.

Fig. 13 is a specimen in good relief lately sent down to me by General Allard; there was another in the collection sent home by General Court under care of M. Meifredy, of which I was favored with the sight of the drawing. On this the name on the Greek side was entire, and thence I am enabled to complete my description.

OBVERSE:—BACIAEΩYC BACIAEΩYN METAAOY VNΔOΦEΠPOV,—rāja in a brahmanical dress, upper part of the body naked,—on the head a turban (?) with flowing fillets. The small figure of victory holding a chaplet over him forms the peculiarity of the device, of which there are yet but three samples. The monogram, which was before so unintelligible to us, I now recognise as a combination of two letters of the old Sanskrit alphabet,  $\text{४}$  and  $\text{७}$ ,  $m$  and  $n$ .<sup>1</sup>

REVERSE:—Whether the figure in a brahmanical costume, holding a trident in the right hand and a palm branch in the left, is Neptune, Siva, the river Indus, or the king, I am not sufficiently initiated in the art to determine. No two reverses seem to be exactly alike, though formed of the same materials; the legend on the present in Bactrian is

*Maharajasa rajarajasa nandatasa jayadharasa (?) Farhetasa.*

I do not pretend to be satisfied with the last epithet, nor with the name, which, however, I collate with M. Court's. I have conceived it possible, on a former occasion, that it referred to Phrahates, the predecessor of Vonones, or another of the same name: but there are too many uncertain letters in it to build theories safely upon. At any rate, the same name of five letters, here seen below the figure of Siva, is found on all the rude coins ascribed formerly to *Unad* (now corrected to) *Undo-pherres*, with exception of the penultimate letter, which is there always formed like an *f*. *Fara-etisa* (?), to which *nandatasa* (soteros) is invariably added—on M. Court's coin this epithet may be preferably read  $\text{𐎱𐎠𐎺𐎠}$  great!

On the area are two Bactrian letters, which might be profanely taken for 'six shillings' by an uninitiated handler!

Fig. 14. A variety of the same group, in General Ventura's recent collection. In this the horseman looks in the opposite direction, and the beginning of the name  $\text{TNΔOΦEΠPO}$  is visible. The monogram is composed of  $\text{४}$  and  $\text{७}$ ,— $\text{४}$  *mya*.

On the reverse, a well clad female holding still the trident (though it looks more like the cross) walks to the left—a Greek and a Bactrian monogram on either side, of complex form: legend as before, the name below.

Fig. 15. Another novelty from General Ventura's store, of which a duplicate has been sent to France by M. Court.

In all respects but the name the obverse corresponds with the foregoing. The

<sup>1</sup> I may here note that fig. 14, pl. xxxii., is also a coin of *Farheta*, with the letters  $\text{४}$  as a central symbol.

name in the two coins yet brought to light of this species is quite distinctly ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΣ, which is either another member of the family or a corruption of the last.

The erect front-faced figure on the reverse is dressed in the Hindu dhoti, and extends his hands over a new symbol of gridiron fashion—in his left hand is the trident. This figure has been conventionally styled 'Siva,' when he appears with his bull on the Indo-Scythic coins. The native name is as before, *Farahetasa*, with the addition of *netadharasa*, 'the bearer of something not very intelligible, unless we make the first syllable  $\Lambda\lambda$  *jaya*, 'victory.'

Referring to the observations in a preceding page about the brothers of Vikramāditya, I cannot forbear mentioning that in Gondophares we might almost recognize the father of Vikramāditya himself; for in the word Gondo-phares we have a signification not very remote from Gandha-rupa; *φapos* being pallium, vestis exterior,—the compound may mean 'having a cloak made of the skin of the *gandha*, *gonda*, *gor*, or wild ass.' Whence may have originated the fable of the Parthian king doomed to assume the guise of an ass during the day.

These are speculations certainly much in the Wilford strain, but the curious coincidence in so many names is enough to lead even a matter of fact man aside from the justifiable deductions of sober reason.

Fig. 16, like the last, adds a new name to the Bactrian list. The coin, a thick copper piece in tolerable preservation, was sent down to me by General Allard a short time ago; it is as yet, I believe, unique.

ORVERSE:—(βασιλεως βασιλεων μεγάλου) ΑΒΑΓΑΣΞΟΥ—'of the great king of kings, Abagases:' there may, perhaps, be another letter before the Α. The king, known by the flowing fillets of his diadem, seems dressed in a petticoat, *rāja* fashion—and he sits sideways on a richly caparisoned horse, looking to the right. Monogram  $\chi$  as before, but with the Bactrian letter  $\eta$  beneath it. \*

REVERSE:—The same royal personage (by the fillets) as if performing the functions of high priest. The dress is so precisely Indian, that I feel disappointed in not finding a regular Sanskrit name below; nor can I produce much of accordance between the Bactrian and Greek names—the letters are *abakhafasa*. On the field are various insulated alphabetic symbols,—Bactrian and Greek, and, under the latter, one which looks like a modern Nāgari *न*,  $\mathfrak{n}$ , but is more probably a Bactrian letter.

The last figure in the plate (from General Ventura's store) is a duplicate of the Azes coin published as fig. 22 of pl. xvii. Between the two one important fact is established, namely, that at this period of the Azes dynasty the use of the Greek was entirely lost, while the native character was written with greater correctness in the same or rather the inverse ratio. The Greek legend is a mere jumble of letters, but the Bactrian reads continuously—

*Maharajasa mahatasa dhamikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa,*

'Of the great king, the mighty, the just, the king of kings, Azes.'

The figure of Abundance with her cornucopia has a compound symbol on the left, which might be read *Sri*, her Indian name; and on the right the two letters  $\mathfrak{z}$ ,  $\mathfrak{s}$ , *kha* and *dha*, used numerically. (?)

The perfect Greek medals of Bactria proper, however beautiful as works of art, ought not to turn away our attention from these corrupted or 'barbarous' specimens which mark the decadence of Greek dominion and Greek skill. These are the most precious to the student of Indian history: through their native legend he may yet hope to throw light on the obscure age of Vikramāditya, and the Scythian successors of the Greeks on the north of India. Hitherto these classes of rude coins, though very numerous, have been much disregarded, and on that account I now invite attention to them, and promise to return to the task myself when I have fresh materials collected and arranged; my text being, 'those coins on which the native and Greek legends differ, or record different names.'

[ Following out the plan I have adopted on previous occasions, of combining the substance of Prinsep's discoveries with a general outline of the present state of our knowledge of the various subjects embraced under each heading, I subjoin—

1st. A revised plate (xi.), and a cursory letter-press review of the Bactrian alphabet, as elucidated by the latest available evidence, and illustrated by a valuable comparative table of the transitions of the early Semitic Alphabets, furnished me by M. le Duc de Luynes (pls. xi.<sup>a</sup> xi.<sup>b</sup>).

2nd. A brief introductory notice of the Arian nomenclature, and the parallel transcription and translation of the Greek names and titles occurring on the coins.

3rd. An abstract of the leading theories for the epochal and serial distribution of the list of monarchs adopted severally by the authors who have specially devoted themselves to the study so effectively inaugurated by Prinsep.

4th, and finally, I annex an outline but numerically comprehensive catalogue of all the Bactrian coins. I have had an opportunity of examining, together with references to the various publications wherein the more important pieces may chance to have been figured and described at large; further, to improve, as far as possible, the general series, I have added such examples as I felt myself justified in citing from Major

Cunningham's inedited plates;<sup>1</sup> and, to complete the typical details, I have compiled from the coins themselves a table of mint monograms (pls. xi.<sup>c</sup> xi.<sup>d</sup>), which I trust will be found to afford a full and exact summary of these important records.

### ❶.—REVIEW OF THE BACTRIAN ALPHABET.

Whatever of modifications or discrepancies of form may be apparent in the Bactrian character, as opposed to the Semitic alphabets of the West of parallel date, there can be but one conclusion as to their joint derivation from a single parent stem. It would be absurd to suppose that the Phœnician and its cognate ramifications curtailed and yet complicated into the crude signs of their own system the more copious and advanced alphabetical series of the East. Indeed, there is internal evidence to the contrary, and the process of simplification of certain characters by the latter can be traced and detected in the mere mechanical configurations alone, and otherwise most of the changes and adaptations of the Arian scheme can be explained and accounted for by the double action of the needful increase in the total number of letters, and the effect of contact with the independently perfected alphabet of India proper.

The proofs of the common origin of the two styles of writing are to be found in the direction followed by both—from right to left,—in the leading idea of the construction of the majority of the characters of either, and, more definitively, in the approximation and close unity, in each series of the several forms of ב, 7 [π], ו, and 7.

<sup>1</sup> [It is perhaps necessary for me to explain more distinctly the reserve I feel called upon to exercise in this regard. Major Cunningham, some years ago, prepared and printed off a series of eighteen plates of Bactrian coins, designed for the ultimate illustration of his long contemplated work on 'The Successors of Alexander in the East.' These lithographs were most obligingly communicated to myself, and others interested in cognate studies in anticipation of the due order of publication. They contain facsimiles of many important coins that I should have been glad to have cited to improve the series now given, but as I trust the author will shortly be enabled to make public his elaborated memoir, I ordinarily abstain from anticipating the novelties he has delineated, even under the full acknowledgment appended on the rare occasions that I have quoted from this source.]

In regard to the date of the elaboration of the improved system, it would be vain to speculate with any pretension to accuracy; but it may be safe to say, while adverting to the internal fixity of the Semitic alphabet and the very remote period at which it can be shewn to have been in free use,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the material progress achieved up to that date, that the Bactrians must have separated and organized their system at an era considerably antecedent to B.C. 250,<sup>2</sup> which is the earliest epoch at which any example of their epigraphy can at present be quoted.

Symptoms of such an independent advance may be tested in the fact, that at the period in question, many of those letters of purely Semitic formation, which were retained comparatively intact as representatives of identical phonetic values, are found to exhibit a far more striking approximation towards the ultimately accepted forms of the modern alphabet than their correspondent characters of the Western system in use under the Seleucidæ.

<sup>1</sup> [For instance, its having formed the model of the Greek alphabet, which itself is admitted to have been employed in the 9th and 10th centuries B.C. Mure, 'Hist. Greek Lit,' iii., pp. 403, 424, 430, 456. M. E. Renan considers that there is evidence authorizing the induction that the Hebrews wrote in the 'phénico-babylonien' alphabet at the time of the coming out of Egypt. 'Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques,' p. 108. Paris, 1855.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am not able to discover upon what precise authority M. Renan extends the spread of Semitism to Bactria at the period indicated in the subjoined extract, but I conclude he associates it in some way with the accession of 'la dynastie (d'origine arienne) qui éleva à un si haut degré, au viii<sup>e</sup> siècle, la puissance de Ninive,' and the subsequent establishment of the kingdom of Babylon:—'Un fait beaucoup plus important que tous ceux qui viennent d'être cités, est la transmission qui se fit, vers le viii<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, de l'alphabet sémitique à tous les peuples du monde ancien, par l'action combinée de la Phénicie et de Babylone. Semé sur toutes les côtes de la Méditerranée jusqu'en Espagne,<sup>a</sup> porté vers le Midi jusqu'au fond de l'Éthiopie, gagnant vers l'Orient jusqu'au Pendjab,<sup>b</sup> l'alphabet sémitique fut adopté spontanément par tous les peuples qui le connurent;' p. 195, 'Hist. Gen.']

<sup>a</sup> L'alphabet phénicien était devenu, sous diverses formes, l'alphabet commun de tous les peuples méditerranéens, avant d'être remplacé par l'alphabet grec et par l'alphabet latin, c'est-à-dire par deux transformations de lui-même. Dans le monument de Téôs, déjà cité, l'expression τὰ φοινικία (s. e. γράμματα) désigne le texte même de l'inscription.

<sup>b</sup> L'alphabet zend paraît se rattacher aux alphabets araméens. Quant au dévanâgari, son origine sémitique est restée très-douteuse, malgré les efforts de M. Lepsius pour l'établir.



Tracing more closely the internal constitution of this adaptive alphabet, we have to allow—(1) for the creation of nearly double the number of letters previously existing in any known Semitic series, incident to the linguistic demands of a more exact language; (2) for a hitherto-unheeded discrimination between consonants and vowels; and lastly, for that strange anomaly in Semitic writing, the introduction of the medial vowels in the body of, or attached to, the covering consonant, which was calculated so seriously to affect the normal form of the latter.

With these ample materials for comparisons and inductive definitions, it may be said that it should be easy to arrive at the truth; but it must be remembered that the very multitude and conflicting nature of the possible causes creates, in itself, a difficulty in selecting the ruling one. And as has already been remarked, we are not by any means in possession of the whole evidence in the case, but have to decide upon the facts presented to us by three literal series at a given point of their several histories, when each had already arrived at advanced maturity.

However, let the special instances be proven or not, thus much may be conceded on the general issue:—1st, That in the formation of the Bactrian alphabet the leading tendency was to follow Semitic tracings; 2nd, That the normal types of the parent stock were altered, adapted, and even devoted to new purposes, as occasion required, for the due exhibition of the more ample and exact speech they were now called on to embody; and 3rd, That the pre-existing and indigenously-matured Pálí alphabet of the South exercised more or less influence in the ultimate determination of many of the forms, more especially in regard to that extraneous element—the definition of the vocalic sounds.

With this limited preface I introduce the detailed examination of such letters of the entire series as seem to furnish data in support of the results above indicated, otherwise avoiding all

notice of those characters which neither illustrate the general derivative question, nor present any difficulties in regard to their own forms and values.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that I follow the order of the Lát alphabet, as arranged by Prinsep in his early engravings.

1. Regarding the value of the letter *k* in its leading lapidary form, or its numismatic modifications, there has been from the first but little question. Some apparent anomalies, however, present themselves in the way of a ready determination of the prototype from whence the Arian letter derived its outline. The normal configuration of the Semitic *כ*, *Caph*, was to have been devoted, in the Bactrian system, to the representation of a new articulation;<sup>2</sup> and the prevailing style of the Phœnician *פ*, *Phoph*, was superseded in the Eastern alphabet by the appropriation of an almost identical character as the exponent of *s*. . . And yet, amid the enigmas of Semitic palæography, it is curious to mark the community of design apparent between the Bactrian *𐎧* of extreme Eastern maturation and one of the Aramæan varieties of the *p* preserved on the monuments of Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

2: The *kh* of the Bactrian system will be seen to have gone through a succession of forms, whether under its numismatic or lapidary progressional course: this is possibly owing to its infrequent use, whereby it retained a less determinate position in the general alphabet. It is found on the coins of—(1) Antimachus; (2) Archebius; and (3) Kozola

<sup>1</sup> [It is needful that I should specify more precisely the nature of the materials whereby I propose to justify my inferences:—1st, In regard to the lapidary characters. The Kapurdigiri inscription may be examined in Mr. Norris's most scrupulous mechanical transcript, copied from an inked-cloth impression taken from the rock itself, and published in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 153; as an additional verification of the facsimile, I have been able to consult the original calico transfer, in some cases available in duplicate, as well as Masson's own eye-transcript, executed with such obvious care and accuracy on the spot; and, finally, advantage has been taken, in the few possible instances, of the seemingly correct outlines afforded by an indifferent Calcutta lithograph, designed by Mr. J. W. Laidlay, and purporting to have been drawn from a facsimile by Captain A. Cunningham, copied *in situ*.—The Manikyála stone inscription is engraved in pl. ix. of this work, and the entire transcript has been compared and tested anew, from the original—now rectified as to its position on the walls of the Bibliothèque Imperiale—since my remarks at p. 125, vol. i., were printed off. The Wardak inscription, which may be classed with the monumental rather than with the numismatic section of palæography, is reproduced in pl. x., and the urn itself is before me for reference. The numismatic characters are necessarily gathered from diverse sources, which it would be tedious to expose at large. It may be sufficient to say that the apparent age of the coins has ruled the order of the several exemplars inserted in the plate of alphabets.]

<sup>2</sup> [*J* or *jh*, *infra*.]

<sup>3</sup> [See Gcsenius, Carpentras Inscription, tab. 4; and type table of Semitic Alphabets *infra*, series No. 3.]

Kadaphes, in each case in correspondence with the Greek x. Its Kapurdigiri outline is well ascertained, and equally so is its value, as the equivalent of the Páli ṣ = ख. I have not been able to trace it very positively in the Manikyála writing, and the form I adopt from the Wardak urn is likewise only conjecturally inserted in virtue of outline similarities. I have also entered in the plate the most prominent of the numismatic varieties, whose originals seem often to exemplify the mere crudities of imperfect engraving; but the letter, as it appears on one of Archebius' coins,<sup>1</sup> presents a striking peculiarity in the supplementation of a small hook, such as is used to denote the simple ṭ, which would almost seem to indicate an acknowledgment of the necessity of some further means of discriminating a character, in many instances liable to be taken for a t or an r. The precise sound of the ancient Semitic ṣ *Kheth* (*Hheth* or *Cheth*) is not very well determined; and if it were not for the seeming appropriation of the design of the legitimate Phœnico-Babylonian ṣ to the representation of the Arian *ch*, it might be possible to refer the origin of the Kapurdigiri guttural to a reduction of the superfluous lines of the Achæmenian H, to which stage the complicated figure of olden days had already been brought, and whose unchanged outline was finally accepted by the Greeks as their aspirate H.

3.  $\varphi = \text{A } \text{𐎧}$ . This letter, regarding which some doubt at first existed, is now the received exponent of the sound indicated by the characters of the kindred alphabets set against it. The only difficulty connected with it consists in the question which necessarily arises as to what effect the horizontal foot-stroke, occasionally supplemented to its radical form, in common with those of the  $\varphi$  j and ṣ t, may chance to have upon its ordinary phonetic value. The Kapurdigiri Inscription, with a single doubtful exception,<sup>2</sup> leaves the original letter unadded to, and the Manikyála stone alike abstains from the augmentation. The Steatite urn (pl. vi.) seems to insert the stroke in the one case in the word **भगवान** and to omit it in the second version of the same title.<sup>3</sup> The Wardak Inscription, which, it may

<sup>1</sup> [In the possession of Colonel Abbott.]

<sup>2</sup> [The instance I refer to occurs in the 14th line in the word *gabagarasi*, corresponding with the Gîrnâr Páli *gabhdgâramhi*. The first *g* has the horizontal foot-stroke, which is clearly to be traced in the cloth impression: it is also entered in Mr. Norris's first copy from that facsimile, but it has been omitted in the lithograph. Masson's eye-copy gives it in full distinctness; and Major Cunningham's transcript fully acknowledges the existence of some such mark, though in the Calcutta lithograph the sign is transformed into an *anuswâra*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Prinsep, I see, has given it in both cases; but there is no trace of the line on the lid of the vase itself.]

be added, will be seen to contain a striking number of 𑀓's in proportion to the rare occurrence of the letter in the cognate inscriptions, must be supposed to insert the sign or its substitute, in the form of a back stroke (easily confounded with the subjoined 𑀓 *r*), in the majority of instances, while, in one case, the *g* is positively deficient in that or any other subjunctive mark.

For the present, therefore, I am disposed to conclude that this line constitutes a mere optional addition to the simple letter, possibly having its origin in a design more completely to distinguish the *g* from some of the literal compounds, with which it was liable to be confounded.

Regarding the origin of the character itself, I should be inclined to attribute its derivation to a semitically outlined and more cursive imitation of the Pāli 𑀓. The proper 𑀓 *g* of the Pāli series, which so nearly corresponded with the Phœnician 𐤂 *g*, will be seen to have been devoted to other purposes in the organization of the Bactrian alphabet;<sup>1</sup> hence a new form had to be found to represent the functions of the *g*, which it is easy to conceive may have been taken from a character of proximate sound in the independent series of the South.

4. 𑀓 = 𑀓 𑀓. The sign for *gh* has been noticed and commented upon under its numismatic aspect, at p. 207, vol. i. It remains for me to confirm the true outline of the character from lapidary sources. The *gh* is not a letter of very frequent occurrence, so that the possible examples in the whole Kapurdigiri Inscription are limited to three. In tablet iv., line 8, the Arian letters that should correspond with the Gīrnār 𑀓's in the words *Berīghoso* and *Dhammaghoso*, are imperfect, both in the original cloth transfer and in Masson's eye-copy. Mr. Norris transcribed them therefore as simple *g*'s. However, the recurrence of the letter (tablet xiii., line 5), in its full form, and in due correspondence with the Pāli 𑀓 in the word *Upaghato*, leaves no doubt that the earliest lapidary outline is identical with that employed on coins.<sup>2</sup>


5. 𑀓 *ng*. Major Cunningham claims, among his other discoveries in the Arian alphabet, to have detected the sign employed to represent this sound. I have had occasion to doubt the finality of this assignment (vol. i., p. 102), and for the present am constrained to leave the Arian column of equivalents of this letter unfilled.

6, 7. I pass by the various forms of 𑀓 and 𑀓, which are sufficiently assured in their early demonstration, as well as obvious enough

<sup>1</sup> [Y. No. 26.]

<sup>2</sup> [In addition to the proved example of the letter on the Behat coins, it is occasionally met with in monogrammatic combination on the Azes series. It also occurs in the last line of the Wardak writing (pl. x.), and in Captain Pearse's copper-slip inscription, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxiv. (1855), pl. xv., p. 328.]


in their subordinate gradations, as exhibited in the plate, merely noting with reference to what has already been said on the derivation of the Bactrian *kh*, that the simple form of the Achæmenians and Artaxerxes Longimanus, or their joint prototype, may well be imagined to have furnished the model of the less stiffly-fashioned Bactrian *ch*.



8.  $\varphi = \epsilon$  . I proceed to consider the various equivalents of the letter *j*. The Kapurdigiri and Manikyála outlines of the character closely accord with the simple numismatic type, while the dotted inscription on the Wardak vessel develops certain vaguely executed forms, which are scarcely consistent with one another, but which may generally be said to shew a considerable modification of the primary design.

The peculiarities in the numismatic character consist in some cases of an apparent duplication of the letter by the insertion of a second forward limb, and in the nearly uniform addition of the horizontal foot-line noticed as in occasional use in connexion with the normal form of *g*. And in these instances, also, I am almost forced into the conclusion that this extra line was not designed to have any effect upon the articulation of the consonant, as the same word, Rajadirajasa, is written alike, with or without the lower lines of the *j*'s (*ex. g.* Eukratides and Kadphises), though the earlier examples affect the former, while the later<sup>1</sup> return to the monumental outline. In regard to the association of the normal letter with any character of Semitic organization, I may note its near correspondence with some of the secondary forms of the Western  $\beth$ , though it is clear, if any such identity is to be admitted, that the sign must be understood to have been appropriated to the expression of a foreign and very different sound in the Eastern system.

9. The definition of the Indian Páli form of the *jh* was effected by Prinsep in March, 1838 ('*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vii., p. 272; *suprd.*, vol. ii., p. 36). As the Kapurdigiri correspondent passages, wherein this letter might have been expected to be met with, were defective in the one place (tablet vi., line 7), and differently cast in the other (tablet xiv., line 9), the Arian configuration of the character has hitherto remained undetermined. The authority for the present assignment rests therefore solely upon the legends on the coins of Zoilus, where the letter copied in the plate is found as the representative of the Greek *z* in the king's name. It will be remembered that the Devanágari alphabet possesses no equivalent of the letter *z*;

<sup>1</sup> [Some of the Azes' coins so far modify the shape of this adjunct as to give it a merely forward direction from the base of the letter, in seeming conformity with the parallel simplification noticed under the letter *g*, p. 149.]

and although modern practice, under the necessities of the adaptations of a foreign tongue, may often substitute the simple  for the Arabic *j*, this constitutes no obstacle to the free acceptance of the above identification. The Greek *z*, it may be noted, is rendered in Arian by the letter *Ʒ* = *s* (see Philoxenes). In this instance, as in those about to be noticed under Nos. 11 and 12, a difficulty arises as to whether the simple letter or its aspirate should be accepted as the more direct derivative from the parent alphabet. Gesenius' early forms of the Semitic *z* *Cap̄h*, as well as the leading column of the Duc de Luynes' alphabets, would favor the claims of the latter, while the Achæmenian and other proximate reproductions of the same letter approach more nearly to the linear rudiments of the former.

10. The Arian letter, answering to , seems to have been primarily deduced from a duplication of the upper limb of the ordinary *z* to meet the requirements of due correspondence with the more exact and ample alphabet of the South. Its use in the Kapurdigiri Inscription is not exclusive in its accordance with the Pálí *ṛ*. It is found in substitution of *ṛ* =  in *hiranna* (line 17), and (if the word is not misread) as the equivalent of *ṛ* *ṇj* (line 3); but where such strange liberties are seen to have been taken with the orthography in other parts of the writing, these departures from the intentional standard need not disturb the recognition of the leading value of the sign.

11, 12. The Arian cerebrals, *t*, *th*, in their relative configuration, seem to carry out the general idea of the Pálí alphabetical system, which associated the simple letter and its aspirate under more or less community of form, though in this instance the normal character would appear to have been retained for the representation of the aspirate, while the corresponding simple letter was constructed out of its elements by a slight modification in the arrangement of its original lines. The earliest Semitic *ṛ*, as its name implies,<sup>1</sup> consisted of a simple cross, and in such guise it clearly found its way into the Bactrian literal series. That it should be adapted to the exposition of the Eastern *th*, rather than to that of the simple *T*, to which the Greeks devoted it, need cause no surprise, as it is clear that *th* (as in 'think') was the primary and preferable equivalent of its sound, notwithstanding that the second and more dubiously aspirated *t*, *ṛ* *teth*, which co-existed in its own alphabet, was converted in the Hellenic system into *θ*.

It is curious also to note, in the Kapurdigiri inscription, what may possibly chance to be a parallel simplification of the dental *t* out of the complicated lines of the *th* of the same order of consonants; except

<sup>1</sup> ['Cujus nomen (ṛ) signum cruciforme significare constat.' Gesenius, p. 47.]

that, if this derivation is to hold good, the supposition of the conversion of the Semitic  $\gamma$  into the former letter must fall through, and to the cerebral  $\delta h$  of the Bactrian scheme must be conceded the title of inheritance of the alphabetical outline of the Phœnician *Daleth*. Though, in this case, as the primary form of the original Semitic  $\beth$  *teth*, like its derivative denomination, is indeterminate, and the Bactrian adaptation is equally uncertain in its point of departure, it will, perhaps, be preferable to adhere to the definition which supposes a construction of the simple  $\gamma = t$ , in unison with the parallel development of  $\beth$  *b* and  $\gamma$  *r*, from the nearly identical rudiments of the simple letters of the earlier series, and consequently to regard the adaptive dental *th* as a linear improvement upon the tortuous form of the Western alphabets, and as based in one portion of its configuration at least, upon the modified representative of its own simple letter.

13. The  $\delta$  is an alphabetical sign of limited use; but it is of consequence correctly to determine its normal form, with a view to the illustration of the history of the associate characters of approximate sound, and the determination of the progressive modifications of the letter itself. Its positive shape in its monumental expression is sufficiently defined (as given in the plate)<sup>1</sup> by the Kapurdigiri Inscription. It would seem to retain its original outline in the Manikyāla writing, and is frequent amid the coin legends, though strange to say, in these instances it never occurs in its full and definite development as an isolated and uncombined letter, but only appears in its true shape in composition with the vowel *i*, to receive which its side limb has to be considerably prolonged: hence a question arises as to whether the radical configuration of the character was not subjected to a modified design in its ordinary expression as a simple letter; as such, it may possibly have furnished the model for the sign usually exhibited as  $\beth$ ; and it is clear that the resulting elongation of the upper line and the rounding off of the angular turning point might easily occur in the ordinary degradation of the character. And this suggestion brings me once more to face an acknowledged difficulty,—the intent and meaning of the horizontal foot-stroke attached. Hitherto I have had to deal with letters that derived little or no advantage from this supplementation; now a new light seems to break upon the subject, and it would almost appear that the foot-line in this case, like the Parthian semicircular dot of Naksh-i-Rustam, still extant in the diacritical mark of the Syriac  $\delta$ , was designed to discriminate the  $\delta$ , or at all events to distinguish it from some character

<sup>1</sup> [It is equal to  $\beth$  in tablet iv., line 12, and tablet vii., line 2, but it corresponds with  $\delta$  in tablet vii., line 3, in *ekadesam*.]

nearly allied in shape but differing in phonetic value. As a general rule (for there are few exclusively consistent ones in this series), the character used to express *d* is individualized by the cross-stroke, while the almost identically-formed *t*'s and *r*'s are preferentially left unmarked.<sup>1</sup> The value of the letter 𐎡 as *d*, whether doing duty as cerebral or dental, is proved by its alternation and interchange with the true dental 𐎢 in the antepenultimate in the name of Apollodotus, and in the titles Tradutasa and Rajaḍirāj. So that, whether we accept it as a derivative from the old 𐎡 = 𐎢,<sup>2</sup> or as an ordinary 𐎡 = 𐎢 *t*, adapted to a modified articulation, its reciprocal value remains much the same.

14. The cerebral *dh* is not a letter in frequent requirement, and though the Arian equivalent is freely developed in the lengthened edict of Kapurdigiri, it need cause no surprise that it should not have been met with amid the brief legends on the coins, especially when it is seen how little discrimination was made between simple letters and aspirates, and what scant scruple was exercised by the die-engravers in the interchange of one *d* for another, or the more vague substitution of *t*'s<sup>3</sup> in place of *d*'s.

15. The cerebral 𐎡 well retains its original Kapurdigiri<sup>4</sup> identity in the later Manikyāla lapidary writing, and on the engraved silver disc from the same locality. Among the modified letters of the Wardak inscription it is more difficult to determine its correct correspondent; for, if we are to follow the Manikyāla inscription, the ordinary 𐎡 has now become 𐎢, which form duly appears on the brass vessel; but the 𐎡 is here so far changed as in some cases almost to look like a return to the model of the early 𐎡 = 𐎢 of the Kapurdigiri legends.

16. The 𐎡 = 𐎢 𐎡, is a letter which admits of but little question, from its first appearance on Asoka's monumental edict to its latest use upon coins. Its form is of importance under the comparative palæographical aspect, in that it assimilates so closely in its simple outline to the nearly homophonous Hebrew 𐤠 *d* of modern days, thus exhibiting the more speedy advance towards maturity of the Eastern system in contrast to that of the West, whose expression of the letter in 250 B.C. had in most instances diverged but little from the primitive sign.

<sup>1</sup> [Ex. gr. Eukratidasa. Tradutasa. Some of Apollodotus' coins mark the penultimate *t*, but in the better executed specimens the foot-stroke appears as an 𐎢. See note on that name in the Coin Catalogue.]

<sup>2</sup> [Among other inconveniences of imperfect type, it will be seen that I am compelled to use the same sign for *j* and *d*. The real difference between the two is properly discriminated in the plate.]

<sup>3</sup> [Coins of Azes, et. seq. 'Wardak,' i., p. 163.]

<sup>4</sup> [Precision in the use of this 𐎡 seems to have been as little regarded as in other cases already noticed. Ex. gr. 𐎡 = 𐎢 usually. 𐎡 = 𐎢, 4, 9.]



17. The letter *th*, in its early lapidary development, likewise admits of but little cavil; but it is doubtful whether its form is to be detected amid any of the inscriptions or coin-legends subsequent to its proved appearance on the Kapurdigiri rock. Its derivation, as well as that of its fellow *t*, has been already commented on in association with Nos. 11 and 12.

18.  $\text{𑀲} = \text{𑀭}$ . Regarding the letter *d* in its isolated aspect but little need be said; its absolute identity, in the earliest form of which we have knowledge, with the ordinary  $\text{𑀲} = \text{𑀭}$  of the same alphabet, is singular, and often proves inconvenient. It appears to be but little changed in the process of time intervening between the endorsement of Asoka's edicts and the engraving of the Manikyála stone, though the associate  $\text{𑀲}$  in the latter writing seems to have been considerably modified from the old type. On the coins, this *d* remains but little varied, either under the provincial or ordinary progressional influence. I have still to speak of the subjunction of the horizontal foot-stroke. If the theory be sound that this adjunct is attached to *d*'s and other special letters, and is never supplemented to the *n*'s,<sup>1</sup> then the second letter of the ordinary form of the name of Menander must be read as a *d*, which is certainly opposed to the probabilities of orthographical transliteration. If there were any authority for so doing, I should prefer to interpret the single compound as *nan*, assuming the foot-mark to be a mere simplification of the arrow-pointed anuswára of the Kapurdigiri system; but here, again, difficulties present themselves, as the sign can scarcely be uniformly accepted as the mark of *n*, and indeed as a suffix to the  $\text{𑀲}$  *a*'s and  $\text{𑀶}$  *s*'s, it affects another form. It would still be possible to infer that the discriminating sign of the *d* here supplemented to *n* might stand for the duplication of the succeeding *d*, in accord with Pálí requirements of orthographical expression; but I should be sorry to propose so hazardous a conjecture without more definite and positive evidence than I am yet in possession of. To dispose of the succeeding letter in Menander's name, under this, its proper heading, I may note that the character hitherto received as *n*, appears, from an examination of the best specimens of the multitudinous hemidrachmas of this sovereign, to be a combination of the equivalents of *drá*.

19.  $\text{𑀲} = \text{𑀭}$ .<sup>2</sup> The definition of this letter is well ascertained,

<sup>1</sup> [Certainly this latter rule seems to hold good, with the single exception, if such it be, here noted. I have nowhere else succeeded in finding a pointed *n*.]

<sup>2</sup> [For a long time the Parthian *dh* was supposed to be represented by an outline similar to the above. The correct form is given in the plate, under  $\text{𑀲}$ . (See 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. x., p. 118; vol. xii., p. 264.)]

and its outline undergoes but little change throughout the entire period represented by the various Arian writings antiquarians have as yet been able to assemble for scrutiny and comparison. I notice it in this place merely for the purpose of drawing attention to the curious coincidence of its form with that of the Achæmenian letter (522 to 456 B.C.), entered in the Phœnician series of the Duc de Luynes as the equivalent of the *ʾ* *ʾade*. This outline, it will be seen, departs notably from the ordinary run of the derivations from the old *ʾade*; and hence a question might arise as to whether the exceptional letter may not have been borrowed from the independently matured Bactrian series to represent a sound not very dissimilar to its own, but whose precise articulation did not exist in the Arian system.

20. *ś* = *1* *𐎧*. The Kapurdigiri *n* of manifest Semitic derivation, which here had to represent the sound of *d* or *n* at will, seems to have preserved its, to us, normal form on the early coins of the Greek monarchs. Menander, at least, uses it in near parallelism with its counterpart *d*, and Philoxenes places its import as *n* beyond a shadow of a doubt, by inserting it as the penultimate letter of his own designation. The character, however, was soon doomed to modification, whether on account of the objection to one symbol having to represent two diverse sounds, we need not stop to inquire; but on the hemidrachmas of Dionysius the *n* has become little more than a perpendicular line, and stands in strong contrast to the initial *d*, which follows the old model. On the Kadphizes' coins (No. xxvi.) the *n* is formed almost like a Greek *ρ* of the obverse legends, and approximates more to the old design of the *𐎧* than to that of the simple *𐎧*. On Kozola Kadaphes' coins the *n* is figured as a perpendicular line with a single arrow-barb on its top like the letter I have transcribed as *𐎧* from the Manikyāla stone and the Wardak urn; and, finally, on some of the Bactrian Satrap coins the letter appears with the full arrow-point, which may either indicate a modification of the form or value of the character, or may simply imply the addition of a short vowel to the original letter.

21. *P*.—The Arian *p* is a letter which presents no difficulty, either in its original ascertainment or its use in its onward course. But it claims special notice, in companionship with the *l* of the same series, on account of its departure from the standard Phœnician type, in the direction assumed by the indicative adjunct, which constitutes the very essence of the character. The Semitic *פ* is shaped like a Bactrian *ṣ* *a*: that is, the distinguishing curve from the leading down-stroke is turned to the left, while the letter *ב* of the former series produces the side curve to the right. In the Arian alphabet both these methods of formation are abandoned in favour of a directly opposite mode of

definition, which strikingly identifies the resulting characters with the corresponding letters of the Pálí. These coincidences may, of course, be purely fortuitous, but, taken with other indications of connexion between the two schemes of alphabetical notation, I am disposed to accept the double evidence as more distinctly evincing a designed change.

22.  $\text{𑀓} = \text{𑀔}$ . The *ph*, unlike the *p*, which maintains its integral identity throughout, is subjected to changes and modifications that demand specification. Its Kapurdigiri indicator is freely developed, and the original idea of its formation, upon the basis of its own simple letter, may be traced in the additional stroke inserted in the onward course of the writing, beyond the perpendicular line of the parent  $\text{𑀓}$ . In its ordinary written form it is with difficulty discriminated from a  $\text{𑀔}$ , and this chance of confusion may possibly have led to the marked alteration which may be observed during its numismatic course to the  $\text{𑀕}$  of Godophares' money, and again to the  $\text{𑀖}$  of Kadphises' mintages.

23. The Arian *b* is the letter of all others that most intimately identifies its own alphabet with the parallel Semitic offshoot of more Western culture. The derivation from some common parent being admitted in each case, it is curious to mark the independent development of the early Bactrian type of 250 B.C., as opposed to the stationary Phœnician  $\text{𐤁}$  in use under the Seleucidæ; and, progressing onwards, it is still more strange to note the large amount of derivative identity the Parthian letter of Ardeshr Bábégán holds in common with the Bactrian character of earlier days, as well as the close similarity of the joint resultants more definitively exemplified in the Partho-Bactrian coinage. Further, among the coincidences attending the evolution of alphabetical symbols, it is singular to note a parallel advance towards the most approved modern form of the character achieved *proprio motu* by the Palmyrene writing.<sup>1</sup>

24.  $\text{𑀗} = \text{𑀘}$ . The shape of this character is as well defined and equably sustained, as its value is undoubted; but little, therefore, need be said in reference to it. It would, indeed, have been a matter of interest to have traced the possible combination of alphabetical rudiments whence it derived its standard configuration; but, as our starting point for all comparisons consists in an already matured literal series of many centuries growth, it would be useless, in the absence of the more primitive forms, to institute any contrasts based upon materials apparently so largely modified from their primary outlines.

25.  $\text{𑀙} = \text{𑀚}$ . At first sight the Bactrian *m* might be pronounced to

<sup>1</sup> [Gesenius, tab. v., pl. xi. a, and Type Table *infra*.]

have nothing in common with the Semitisms of the Western alphabets; but on examining the question more closely, it seems by no means impossible to conceive that the Eastern product retained in effect a portion of the original elements of the ancient character. The rejection of the superfluous down stroke of the Phœnician *m*, which, as it stood, conflicted with the Arian *di*, would reduce the former letter into the Eastern representative of *mi*, and the further necessity of again discriminating the uninflected consonant from this latter combination may reasonably have led to the ultimate simplification of the current form of the *m*, and the reservation of the cross stroke for its own proper purpose, as the sign of the medial vowel *i*.

26.  $\Lambda = \text{𐎧}$ . As with the *m*, I was almost on the point of pronouncing against any possible Semitic influence in the formation of the Bactrian *y*; but it is clear that, if the doctrine of intentional simplification of the characters under the needs and requirements of a more perfect language is to be held valid, much of the primary identity of the Phœnician *y* might be traced in the form ultimately adapted to the Arian alphabet: here, again, a rejection of the redundant up-stroke, which in the Eastern scheme constituted the suffix *r*, and the omission of the second down-stroke of the Western palatal, which expressed an *o* in the Arian series, would leave the character very much in the form extant upon the Kapurdigiri rock. Though I confess that, knowing as I do how much mere mechanical comparisons of forms, under imperfect data, are liable to mislead, I am unwilling to press such arguments, or to claim more than a possible association of minor coincidences, where the broad question is supported by such definite evidence.

27.  $\daleth = \text{𐎡}$ . The letter *r* of the Bactrian series, as found in the monuments of B.C. 250, is of high importance in proving at how much earlier a date it had become developed into the since dominant Hebrew form than the same character of the cognate alphabets of the West. That it is fundamentally the same letter in both may easily be conceded; and the manner in which the nearly fellow character, the *t* of one series, the *d* of the other, advanced into maturity, is likewise striking. The same may be said of the  $\daleth = \text{𐎡}$  *v* of the Bactrian and the  $\text{𐤆}$  *wau* of the Western scheme. As a simple letter, the standard *r* remains but little changed. In combination, however, like the anuswára of the Bactrian system, it presents difficulties from the innate obstacles to the conjunction of the literal forms of Semitic alphabets, which, even under the necessities of Arian speech, seem to have progressed but slowly, and by imperfect rules, in this direction. The small back stroke at the foot of the covering consonant clearly

stands for the letter *r*; but it is a question whether the act of subjunction invariably implied the suppression of the short sound of *a* inherent in the leading consonant; and supposing such to be the ordinary intent and purport of the act of combination, it is doubtful whether the brief *a* is absolute after every open consonant. In the incompleteness of literal definition, so characteristic of all Semitic writing, much must necessarily have been left to the reader's knowledge of the speech so symbolized, to supply orthographical deficiencies; and as we find the compounds *San*, *Sin*, etc., so we may fairly assume that the *Dhrama* of Kapurdigiri and the *Dhramika* of the coins were intended to be read as *Dharma* and *Dharmika* (धर्मे); the Southern Pálí of course duplicated the *m* in lieu of the compound *rm*. Major Cunningham has discovered a method of combining the *rm*, subsequently introduced into the Bactrian numismatic alphabet, whereby the  $\gamma$  was run into the  $\cup$  for the apparent purpose of stifling the intermediate *a*; and I am the more disposed to concur in this assignment, since I imagine I observe in all the words representing *Dharma*, wherein this compound is used, that the tail stroke of the usual sub-junct *r* is rejected from its place at the foot of the *dh*.

Among other progressive efforts towards the due discrimination of the superposed *r*, I detect a remarkable, though solitary, instance of its expression by a dot above the succeeding consonant in the name of Arkhabyas. This means of representing the *r* is somewhat in parallel accord with the system of the South, where the sign was figured as little more than a prolonged dot above the conjunct letter. But even among these Pálí alphabets we have no very positive example of its employment prior to the Sáh inscription at Gírnár, though there is every reason to suppose that it was in use much earlier than the date of that writing.

28. The formation of the Bactrian *l* presents no peculiarity demanding comment. I may, however, note its representation by the letter *r* on the medals of Heliocles, and I may refer to the substitution of *l* for *r* in the Dhauli inscription, and the parallel interchanges of these letters in the Western languages of Persia. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' xiii., 375.<sup>1</sup> The Parthian *l*, it will be seen, retained much of the original figure of the Bactrian type, and had nothing in common with any of the direct offshoots from the Phœnician model.

29.  $\gamma = \text{𐎧}$ . The *v* of the Bactrian system may be fairly taken to correspond with the original idea of a Semitic  $\gamma$  *vau*; indeed, some of the intermediate forms of the latter consonant-vowel assimilate completely with the outline of the analogous semi-vowel of the Eastern series.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See also 'Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar,' p. 120.]

<sup>2</sup> [Gesenius, p. 26, and tab. i., 4, 5; Judas, tab. i., and Type Table *infra*, series 1.]

The identities of the 7 *v* have been already alluded to, vol. i., p. 103. The letter is only further remarkable for the difficulty with which it is at times discriminated from the nearly similarly outlined *t*'s and *r*'s. The intentional distinction seems to consist in the more straight formation of the head line, and the angularity given to its point of junction with the down stroke, which also participates in the lesser degree of curvature. At Manikyála a further divergence may be detected in the extra length given to the perpendicular line.

31.  $\text{𐬀} = \text{𐬱}$ . I am unable to detect any direct affinity between the earliest monumental form of the common Bactrian *s* and the antecedent outlines of the Semitic  $\text{𐤓}$ . The nearest approach, indeed, to the ordinary configuration of the Eastern letter is afforded in the *p* of the Western system. The Duc de Luynes enters, under the Seleucidan period, a form of  $\text{𐤓}$  nearly identical with the Arian numismatic symbol, but the ascertainment of the value of the character is marked as doubtful, and even if finally admitted, I should prefer to pronounce in favour of its derivation from the Bactrian exemplar, rather than the indebtedness of the latter to the Western source. The formation of the Kapurdigiri *s* seems to have been effected by the delineation of a downward curve, but little dissimilar to the ordinary *b*, into which was inserted a perpendicular line,—a method of definition which the *Sinaitique*  $\text{𐤓}$  (circa, 18 B.C.) seems singularly enough to have preserved. In progress of time the Arian *s* becomes more cursive, or rather takes such a form as should avoid the necessity of a second application of the pen. Under neither form does it seem to have anything in common with the Pálí  $\text{𑀲}$ .

32.  $\text{𐬀} = \text{𑀲}$ . The second, or palatal, *s* of the Arian series need scarcely be looked for among the signs of strictly Semitic origin, and may be accepted as an independent invention to meet the wants of Sanskrit vocalization.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Pálí form of this  $\text{𑀲}$ , as I have before remarked, seems to have been borrowed from the Bactrian outline which stood for the  $\text{𐬀}$ . The Southern edicts of Asoka make use of but one *s*, and the contrast between the two systems of writing, in this respect, may be readily exemplified in the word  $\text{𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺}$  *sususha* of the Arian inscription, which is written  $\text{𑀲𑀺𑀢𑀺}$  *susunsá* in the Girnár text (xiii., 3).

33.  $\text{𐬀} = \text{𑀲}$ . The Arian *śh*, unlike the letter last referred to, must under every aspect be supposed to have had a counterpart in the languages of the West, and its identity in shape with the secondary

<sup>1</sup> [I have elsewhere adverted to a possible Parthian derivative from this character, but as the language of the Bilingual inscriptions, wherein the former occurs, is still undetermined, the value and association of the Western form remains purely conjectural. See 'Num. Ch.,' xii., 78.]

forms of the Phœnician *w* is sufficiently striking. Its absolute inversion, under its Bactrian adaptation, need cause no surprise, as the obvious necessity of discriminating its power from the compound *me*, whose outline, under the local system of insertion of medial vowels in the body of the covering consonant, exactly imitated the configuration, and hence the latter may presumptively be taken to have conflictingly superseded the proper functions of the ordinary *sh*; which sibilant had therefore to be provided with a distinctive though not altogether novel form of character.

34, 35.  $\gamma = \text{𐎧} \text{ } \text{ } = \text{𐎧}^1$  The Bactrian alphabet, in common with the Indian Pálí, possessed distinguishing signs for the long and short vowel *a*, though it was deficient in this respect in the quantitative symbols for the *i* and the *u*, for each of which a single form had to respond to the double articulations. The Arian system, like its Southern associate, duly contrasted the initial and medial outlines of both vowels and diphthongs. The initial forms of the soft and hard *a*'s are marked in plate xi., the authority for the latter resting solely on the numismatic character made use of, with dubious propriety, in the name of Apollodotus. The Kapurdigiri Inscription either does not mark the difference between the powers of the two vowels, whether initial or medial, or the failure to discover the additional sign, must be attributed to its shape and isolation from its covering letter, and the state of the surface of the rock, which was evidently opposed to its detection, unless the observer chanced to know sufficient of the language to expect and seek for the simple dot which constitutes the essential difference. As a medial, the short *a* may be held to be ordinarily inherent in each consonant; and the long *a*, in appropriate coincidence with the arrangement of the other vowels, is defined by the detached dot, the discriminating adjunct of the *d* initial.

The Bactrian *ṛ* admits of no approximation to any of the purely Semitic forms of *ṛ*; indeed, it approaches nearest in identity to another

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Rawlinson has annexed to his exposition of the value of the Persian cuneiform *a* an elaborate note ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. x., pp. 64, 78), on the general subject of Arian *a*'s and their correspondents in the Semitic system. One of the few points upon which I altogether dissent from his conclusions is his assumed derivation of the Parthian and Sassanian *a*'s from the original Hebrew *y* *ʾim*. The languages in question, so far as we have present knowledge of them, did not need any alphabetical symbol for the latter utterance; indeed, when Arabic came to be written in Pehlvi characters, the simple *a* of the old series had to perform the representative functions of the foreign articulation. It seems much more reasonable to infer that the Eastern copy of the *a* (whether exclusively devoted to that vowel, or permissible as a substitute for *y* in the conterminous dialects), was based upon some of the varying forms of the original Phœnician *a* rather than upon the outline of a letter for which the adapters had little or no use, and whose normal and subsidiary configurations were almost without exception opposed to the graphic delineation eventually adopted into the derivative alphabets. Cf. also Gesen., p. 21, etc.]

letter of the Western series, namely, the **ḍ**. It is possible that this character may have been incorporated from the common stock, and subjected to new duties; but I should prefer to suppose a positive invention of a new character, or a very marked simplification of the complicated cross-strokes of the earliest **ṣ**, rendered requisite, like many of the other changes, by the necessity of avoiding complex outlines among the radical letters, with a view to their facile reception and legible representation of the short vowels in combination.

The radical form of the full or initial Arian **ṛ** = *a* claims extraneous attention, in the fact that its outline constituted the basis for the construction of all the other vowels and diphthongs of its own alphabet, which are severally distinguished by the additional marks supplemented in each case to the normal *a*, while the same discriminating signs suffice, in combination with consonants, to represent the medial form of their several fundamental letters.

An indication of no little importance in the question of derivations, developed by this law, is to be detected in the imitation and simplified extension of the orthographical rule of the Pálí, which took the initial **ṛ** as the basis of certain other vowels and diphthongs, discriminating them from the simple letter *a* by supplemental additions; thus **ṛ** *a* became **ṛ** *á*, **ṛ** *o*, **ṛ** *an*, etc., while *i*, *e*, *u*, had separate forms. The Arian scheme, following out this notion with more effective systemization, made **ṛ** the groundwork of the entire vocalic series.

38. The vowel *u* demands a passing notice, rather for the modification it undergoes than for any difficulty in its recognition. The initial on the Kapurdigiri rock is formed by the addition of a foot-line to the standard *a*, in the forward direction of the writing; and a similar mark effectively fulfils the duty of the medial vowel in combination with consonants. An optional interchange of symbols for the initial may be observed on the coins of Eukratides, which is instructive as evincing the limited precision of the orthographical science of the period. In some cases the opening syllable of this name is defined by a combination of the medial sign of the *e* prefixed to a squarely-outlined *u* initial; in others, the sound of *eu* is represented by a fully developed initial *e*, followed by an unattached and completely formed initial *u*. The numismatic *u* medial is speedily transformed into a loop, which form it retains throughout its later monumental course.

41. The equivalent of the Sanskrit **ṛ** *an* is formed in the Kapurdigiri inscription of the subjunction of an arrow-point to the foot of the normal **ṛ** *a*, and may reasonably be supposed to figure in convenient modification of the standard **ṛ** *m*, whose sound it convertibly responds to. A similarly outlined suffix is used for the same purpose in com-



bination with consonants, as in *Kambayi*, *Gandharanam* (tab. v.). On coins the stiffness of the adjunct is amended by its transformation into a semicircular curve in continuation of the down stroke of the  $\gamma$  *a*, a symbol which, it may be remarked, still retains the elements of the primary  $\cup$  *m*. The change may be attributed to the greater facility of expression, incident to the continuous use of the pen in current writing, as contrasted with the earlier chisel sculpture of lapidary epigraphy, which had nothing to gain by uninterrupted lines. This numismatic suffix appears frequently on coins and inscriptions of more recent date conjoined with the letter  $\rho$  *s*, in positions, as regards the latter, which clearly necessitate the interpretation of the compound as *san*, 'year;' though I notice an apparent inability to define the requisite *anuswāra* in combination in the names of *Menander*, *Amyntas*, and *Gondophares*, which it is difficult to account for.<sup>1</sup>

32. The *st* of the Bactrian alphabet is remarkable as being the only standard compound consonant in the entire range of the Kapurdigiri edict; the subjunction of the *r* was allowable with any consonant that required the combination; but the suffix of the *t*, or rather its incorporation with another character into a distinct sign, was reserved for the conjunction now cited; and this compound retained so much of the force of a distinct letter that it admitted of the insertion of a vowel or the subjunction of the *r* like any other simple consonant. The divergence from the Kapurdigiri outline in the later examples of its use is limited to a straightening off of the cross-lines, whereby it is conveniently discriminated from the character *i* or *hi*, with which it was otherwise liable to be confounded.

Before taking leave of these imperfect contributions to the

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Rawlinson attributes these omissions to a general orthographical law common to the Persian cuneiform and the Bactrian systems. His remarks on the subject are as follows:—

'I need not multiply examples of the absorption of the nasal, as the first member of a compound articulation; for I have already, as far as argument is concerned, abundantly verified the existence of such an orthographical law; and it is one, moreover, with which the identical construction of the numismatic Bactrian\* has long ago familiarized Orientalists.'

Colonel Rawlinson is in error in regard to the second and third names quoted, the insertion of the *anuswāra* is palpable and undoubted, and, when looked for, it is visible enough in one instance in Major Cunningham's plates, on whose authority I conclude the author speaks. The Kapurdigiri inscription further evidences that this assumed rule, if sound at all, is, in practice, rather constant to the opposite effect, as I may instance at hazard from the names of *Devanampriya*, *Antioke*, *Antikina*, and the words *pashandeshu* (tab. v.), *athasantiranaya* (tab. vi.), etc.]

\* 'Remark the orthography of the names of *Menander*, *Antimachus*, *Antialkidas*, *Amyntas*, etc. In Indian Pāli the nasal is preserved before the consonants of all classes. See 'Essai sur le Pāli,' p. 80.' 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' x., 132.

history of Bactrian Palæography, and terminating these introductory remarks by the exhibition of the positive data of fac-similes, I desire to advert cursorily to the Parthian or Chaldaeo-Pehlvi and the cognate Sassanian-Pehlvi literal series, exemplars of each of which have been inserted in pl. ix. The first of these claims its position in the general inquiry, in appropriate elucidation of many of the alphabetical coincidences and derivative identities already adverted to; the second founds its title to notice, in this place, upon its apposite intermediary position in the progressive palæographic development of the writing of Asia and the important part it will be seen to have played in its position, as the sole apparent vehicle of speech, whether official or domestic, under the specially national reconstitution of the Persian empire,<sup>1</sup> and the influence that, even in its official extinction, it carried with it into the learning and literature of the conquering Arabs;<sup>2</sup> while its alphabetical forms and difficultly-comprehensible language survive so largely in their fitting

<sup>1</sup> [ I have for long past insisted upon one deduction of high import in the history of the Zoroastrian languages, 'in the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *primâ facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications. I would cite the universality of its influence throughout nearly the entire Persian empire; its employment as the vehicle of expression for the monumental records of the kings; its uniform official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire; and the geographical definition of its boundaries from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the S.W., to Merv and Zâbulistân on the N.E., as manifested by the legends on the Arab coins issued within or near those limits. But beyond this I would now exhibit its acceptance in the affairs of private life, as exemplified by the prevalence of its literal forms on the signets and seals of every-day use. And I would claim this much of deduction from the facts available, that whatever other forms of speech may have existed in the land, whatever of more perfect systems of writing may have been known or employed, it is clear that the seventeen letters of the Pehlvi alphabet sufficed to express all that either official routine or ordinary business transactions required. From our inscriptions and coins we can fix with precision the date of the currency of this style of writing, and unhesitatingly claim its dominance in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76 (A.D. 695). Our new authorities, the gems, do not of themselves similarly define their own epoch; but we may hope, by testing the forms of the alphabet, and observing closely other significant indications, to fix approximately their place in history.'—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xiii., p. 374 (1852). See also Westergaard, 'Zendavesta,' i. 19 (Copenhagen, 1854).]

<sup>2</sup> [ Here is their own testimony to one most important fact in the history of civilization:—*در عهد عبدالملک جرید دیوانی از صورت فارسی باعربی* نقل کردند و رقوم بنیاد نهادند M.S. 'Târikh Guzîdah.' Even so late as 318 A.H. the Arabs were still translating Pehlvi books.—See Reinaud, 'Abulféda,' p. xlv.]

places as monumental, numismatic, and personal records, or the more isolated but carefully-guarded religious services, which, in return, have, in these days, led to the comprehension of one section of the historical epigraphy,<sup>1</sup> otherwise, to us, so enigmatically endorsed upon the less perishable materials of metal or gems.

As I have ventured to infer a derivation of the more distantly cultivated and more obviously divergent Bactrian alphabet from a parentage in common with or intermediately through the Phœnico-Babylonian, it is demanding but scant faith to ask for a more direct concession of the influence of the latter upon the Parthian or Chaldæo-Pehlvi of almost indigenous site, and which, epochally speaking, is so limitedly varied from its obvious prototype.<sup>2</sup> The Sassanian hereditative, and for a long time

<sup>1</sup> [J. Olshausen, 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 62.]

<sup>2</sup> [It may be as well to indicate, as far as possible, the surface over which there is extant evidence of the spread of this character. Inscriptions graven in its letters, in parallel association with the Sassanian Pehlvi, are to be found—1st, at Persepolis; 2nd, at Shahrzôr (35° 50', 44° 24'); and 3rd, at Pâf Kâlî, within the Turkish frontier southward of Sulimânia, which latter have only recently been discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson, who further states that isolated but earlier varieties of this character are to be found in inscriptions at—1, Amadiâh; 2, Holwân; 3, Shimbor, in the Baktiari mountains; and 4, at Bebahân. Or, to state the case generally, the style of writing has an Eastern limit of 150 miles beyond the Tigris. Further, it is found on certain classes of Imperial Parthian coins ('Vologeses,' iii. etc.), as well as on several varieties of local issues, which up to this time are supposed to be sub-Parthian or Partho-Persian mintages. The most modern date of its use in inscriptions is to be referred to the reign of Shâpûr I. (A.D. 240 to 273); indeed, it would appear to have been speedily superseded by the more readily discriminated Sassanian Pehlvi, in which alone the monumental records (Ker Porter, vol. ii., pl. lxviii.), and the coin legends of his successors are couched. Cf. 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlix., p. 593, pl. xviii. (1756). Pellerin 3me 'Supplément' (1767), pl. i., fig. 13, p. 32. De Saey, 'Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse,' pp. 72, 136, 202, etc. Ouscleij, 'Médales and Gems' (London, 1801). 'Mionnet,' v. 686. Millingen's 'Sylloge' (London, 1838), p. 84. Ker Porter, pls. xv., xxii., xxviii., etc. Rich's 'Babylon and Persepolis' (London, 1839), pl. xii. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 23, etc. Rawlinson, 'Mémor on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions,' Jour. Roy. As. Soc., vol. x., p. 118, *et seq.*; and my Pehlvi Alphabets, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 262; and vol. xiii., p. 3. Westergaard, 'Bundehesh,' p. 84 (1851). 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xii., p. 63; and Dr. Scott's papers, vols. xvii. xviii. *ibid.* Lindsay, 'View of the Coinage of the Parthians,' (Cork, 1852). 'Haug. Ueber die Pehlewi-Sprache' (Gott. 1854).]

While adverting to Parthian writing, I feel bound to notice a somewhat pretentious article, recently published, which professes to interpret the legends on several classes of sub-Parthian currencies. The paper in question is inserted in the 'Zeitschrift' of the present year (1857), p. 700, under the title of 'Lettre, etc., sur quelques médailles à légendes iraniennes de l'époque Arsacide, par Comte A. de Gobineau' (Téhéran, le 12 Mars, 1857). As the author seems to have been altogether un-

contemporary character, is not perhaps so manifest an emanation from the same source, but of the absolute fact there can be no reasonable question, though the ordinary course of mechanical induction leaves this much doubtful, as to whether the Sassanian was derived by independent action from some purely Semitic stock, or whether it was a local improvement upon the intermediate Parthian character of anterior currency and official prominence in their joint monumental association: I myself should certainly prefer the latter inference.

acquainted with De Sacy's elaborate investigations into the alphabet of cognate type, which appears in the numerous bilingual inscriptions of the early Sassanians, I may be held excused from withholding my general acquiescence in his readings; but, to show how fallacious his system of decipherment has proved, even in his own hands, I may remark that on his coin No. 7 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii., pl. p. 68, figs. 5, 6, 7), he detects the word *malika* (or *meleky*, as he transcribes it), in one portion of the legend, while its repetition in the same epigraph altogether escapes him, as equally do the same duplicate titles on his piece No. 1. The interpretation he assigns to the legend on this latter coin I reproduce, as a test of the probable value of the rest of his definitions.

ΚΥΟΥΥΑ SETRY VANYA ARHSAK.

'Le Roi de race pure, Arhsak.'

My own reading of the legend of a similar coin, a facsimile of which is prefixed to the modern transcript, is as follows.—

מלכא ברי כאילך רישאן

ארסהשתר מלכא ברי כאילך מלכא

See '*Numismatic Chronicle*,' vol. xii., pl. No. 8.

While upon this subject, I may take occasion to refer to my original transcription of the legend on the unique coin of Hormuzd II., brought from Persia by Sir H. C. Rawlinson (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xv., p. 180; '*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*' vol. xiii., p. 379). Dr. Scott, in commenting upon my transliteration as opposed to that of Dr. Mordtmann, while confessing that the shapes of the letters on the coin itself better accord with my version than that of the author just named, accepts the interpretation of the latter, or *אוהרמוזדי לבני רישאן* '(of) Ormuzd, of the god of light,' in preference to mine, in virtue of its having the advantage of 'being comprehensible!' (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii., p. 166). As I did not pretend to translate my transcript, which was grounded simply on mechanical data, I could have no objection to so much of condemnation; but, in truth, my version, with the interpretation I now append, not only makes very excellent sense, but it has the higher merit of according far more precisely with the typical indication afforded by the monarch's head-dress, which is formed after the conventional model of the Hercules' head, so frequent on the Greek coins, with the covering of a lion's skin. My transliteration ran—

מזדיסן בני אוהרמוזדי לבכושאן מלכאן מלכא

The *לבכושאן*—the only doubtful portion of the whole—I understand to mean 'lion killing.' The mixture of Aramaic and Persian in the compound need cause no surprise; neither, I am bound to add, is the orthographical expression of the participle in accord with modern Persian grammar; but these objections are infinitesimal in the interpretation of so irregular and little-known a language as that used in the official records of the early Sassanians.]

The next step in the onward course of the Sassanian alphabet, its merging into the Pehlvi of the early Arabs in Persia, which is nearly literatim the same as the Pársis have preserved in Kermán and Gujarát, admits of no possible cavil : how much of the essence of these modified letters the Arabs took into their own superseding Kufic has only been partially investigated, and hitherto insufficiently allowed for ; but the number of the normal forms of Pehlvi that have passed into and been reproduced in the so-called Zend alphabet are palpable and manifest on the most cursory inspection ; and whatever may be the real antiquity of the language of the Avestá, couched in these letters, there can be but one opinion as to the comparatively recent date at which the characters themselves must have been compounded out of more ancient systems of writing.

I now exhibit the Plate of Comparative Alphabets, which I have prepared in supersession of Prinsep's original plate xi. and to complete the data for testing the rise and progress of the Bactrian alphabet from its Semitic elements, I have appended the two plates of the modifications of that class of literal symbols so obligingly prepared for me by the Duc de Luynes, whose original introductory notice I insert in explanation of the derivation of each.<sup>1</sup>

#### ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN (PHÉNICIE PROPRE).

*Du temps de Sargon.*—Les lettres ב, ד, י, ל, ע, ס, ר, ת, sont prises dans les légendes des deux pierres gravées à inscriptions, découvertes par M. Place sous les taureaux du Palais de Sargon.<sup>2</sup> Les autres lettres sont tirées de pierres gravées à

<sup>1</sup> [It is a pleasure to me to record the circumstances under which I have to acknowledge M. le Duc de Luynes as a coadjutor in this Essay. During a passing visit to Paris, I was made aware that he had most liberally permitted the Numismatic Phœnician type, prepared for the illustration of his own privately circulated works, to be made use of in the printed sale-catalogue of the Baron de Behrs' coins. Encouraged by this concession, I ventured to solicit a similar favor in my own case, so far as a single elucidatory alphabet was concerned. I need not add that this request was readily complied with ; but moreover, on my subsequently addressing M. de Luynes, with a view to obtaining a more precise idea of the epoch and localities to which these specimen letters were due, I was surprised and gratified by a promise of a mature and comprehensive review of the entire question of Phœnicæo-Semitic Alphabets, of which the present materials exhibit the performance.]

<sup>2</sup> Ces légendes sont : עבדבעל et רבתי Obadbaal et Riphthiah.





English	Indian Pāli	Legendary Bactrian	Nonimadic Bactrian	English	Indian Pāli	Legendary Bactrian	Nonimadic Bactrian
k	+	𑀓	𑀓	ph	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
kḥ	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	b	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
g	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	bḥ	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
gh	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	m	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
ng	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	ṛ	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
ch	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	r	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
chh	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	l	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
j	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	ṛ	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
jḥ	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	h	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
ñ	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	s	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
!	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	s	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
th	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	sh	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
d	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	a	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
dh	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	a'	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
"	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	i	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
i	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	u	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
th	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	e	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
d	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	e	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
dh	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	nn	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
"	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	st	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓
p	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	sp	𑀧	𑀓	𑀓

ANCIENT Pehlvi ALPHABETS (PARTHIAN & SASSANIAN)							
Western Pahlavi	Parthian	Sassanian	Western Pahlavi	Parthian	Sassanian	Western Pahlavi	Sassanian
𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠	𐭠
𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡	𐭡
𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢	𐭢
𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣	𐭣
𐭤	𐭤	𐭤	𐭤	𐭤	𐭤	𐭤	𐭤
𐭥	𐭥	𐭥	𐭥	𐭥	𐭥	𐭥	𐭥
𐭦	𐭦	𐭦	𐭦	𐭦	𐭦	𐭦	𐭦
𐭧	𐭧	𐭧	𐭧	𐭧	𐭧	𐭧	𐭧





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Alphabet Hebrew	Alphabet Phénicien (Phénicie propre)			Dérivation de l'Alphabet Phénicien			
	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 422 à 463 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 463 à 482 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 482 à 500 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 500 à 524 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 524 à 547 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 547 à 570 vers 1000	Des lettres d'Emmanouch de 570 à 600 vers 1000
א	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז
ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב
ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג
ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד
ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה
ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו
ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז
ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח
ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט
י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י
כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ
ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל
מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ
ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס
ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע
פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ
צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש
ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת





[illegible]



légendes plus ou moins longues, dont plusieurs caractères font partie des légendes sur les deux pierres gravées de M. Place et doivent, par là, se rattacher au même alphabet.

*Du temps d'Emunazar.*—Alphabet tiré de la longue inscription sur le Sarcophage de ce Roi. [*'Journal Asiatique,'* Avril-Mai, 1856.]

*Sous les 1<sup>ers</sup> Achéménides.*—Cet alphabet est formé des légendes sur les médailles les plus archaïques d'Aradus : Tête virile barbue et laurée. Revers, Navire ; au dessus  $\aleph, \omega$ , suivi de lettres numérales variées,  $\eta, \zeta, \eta, \delta, \psi, \delta$  ; les lettres  $\chi$  et  $\psi$  se trouvent sur des pièces d'argent des anciens Rois de Perse représentant un Roi frappant de son poignard un lion dressé devant lui ; auprès,  $\psi$ , et au revers :  $N(i)S(i)B$   $\aleph \zeta \eta$  au dessus d'une ville à tous crénelées, &c. Cette pièce est au Musée britannique.

*Du temps d'Artaxerxès Longue-main.*—Tiré des médailles d'or et d'argent des Rois de Tyr, de Cistium et des Chittim (*cf.* mes Satrapies).

*Sous Artaxerxès Mnémon.*—Tiré de la numismatique des Rois de Gebal (Byblos) vivant probablement à cette époque (*cf.* mes Satrapies), et de médailles encore inédites de cette dynastie dans ma collection.

*Sous Artaxerxès Ochus.*—Tiré des Dariques de mauvais travail frappées sous ce Prince.

*Sous Alexandre et les 1<sup>ers</sup> Séleucides.*—Monnaie d'or et d'argent aux types d'Alexandre frappée sous son règne et sous ses premiers successeurs à Joppé, Acé, Aradus, et Théma.

*Sous les Séleucides, de 312 à 145.*—Lettres isolées et numérales sur les médailles d'Aradus, de Tyr et de Sidon, frappées sous la domination de ces Princes. Médailles de Tyr frappées sous Antiochus IV. et Demetrius II. et de Laodicée au revers d'Antiochus IV.

*Sous la domination Romaine, depuis l'an 145.*—Monnaie en cuivre d'un travail de décadence frappée à Sidon, Tyr, et Marathus.

## DÉRIVATIONS DE L'ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN.

*Araméen.*—Manuscrits sur papyrus appartenants au Duc de Blacas. Gesenius paraît croire que ces Manuscrits qui font mention de la captivité d'un peuple en Egypte, sont allusifs à celle des Hébreux et pourraient être contemporains. En tout cas, ils sont très anciens. Cependant, le monument de Carpentras, portant une inscription de même écriture, ne paraît pas remonter à une époque très reculée.

*Palmyrénien.*—La plupart des Inscriptions Palmyréniennes connues ne sont pas plus anciennes que les premiers Empereurs Romains et ne dépassent guères l'époque d'Alexandre Sévère mort en 235 de J.és. Chr. Cependant, il existe une médaille presque archaïque, frappée à Sidé de Pamphylie, dont la légende est évidemment en caractères palmyrénien (voir mes Satrapies).

*Sinaitique vers l'an de J. C. 18.*—Cet alphabet est tiré de médailles encore inédites de Rois des environs de la mer rouge et de l'Idumée, dont le principal date ses monnaies de l'an 330 (des Séleucides).

*Sinaitique après l'an de J. C. 18.*—Alphabet établi par M. Beer d'après les inscriptions de Gebel Mocatteb. Inscr. veteres litt. et ling. hucusq. incogn. ad mont. Sin. magn. num. repert, &c. Lipsiæ, 1840, 4to.

## ECRITURE PUNIQUE.

*Avant 396.*—Médailles archaïques de Motya, Tsits et Aca, frappées en Sicile. Motya fut détruite en 396.



*De 396 à 332.*—Médailles de travail grec avec les types de Cérès et de Proserpine, adoptés par les Carthaginois seulement depuis 396, époque où ils commencèrent à honorer ces Déeses, et pièces frappées avec le type du droit imité des monnaies d'Alexandre.

*Première guerre punique.*—Médailles au type de la tête de Cérès et du cheval ou du Pégase, d'un bon travail, et que l'on trouve en grande abondance en or, argent, et cuivre.

*Seconde guerre punique.*—Les mêmes types ou peu variés, mais d'un travail de décadence et de métaux d'un titre bien plus bas.

*Syphax.*—Médailles de bronze de ce Roi et inscription de Marseille exactement de la même épigraphie que les légendes de Syphax.

*Juba 1<sup>er</sup>.*—Monnaies de ce Prince en argent et cuivre.

*Empire Romain.*—Monnaies puniques d'Espagne et d'Afrique avec des types impériaux en conformes par leur écriture à celles qui portent ces types.

*Satrapies de Cilicie* et particulièrement ceux de Tarse (*cf.* mes *Satrapies*).

*Cypre vers 424.*—Médailles de Salamine, frappées probablement sous le gouvernement d'Abdemon. La lettre  $\Gamma$  appartient à une médaille d'Amathus de la même époque.

*Abdemon, Roi de Salamine.*—Abdemon, Satrape de Cypre, régnait à Salamine. Une médaille de ce Prince, que je possède, porte son nom, עברהמן.

*Écriture ornée de l'Inscription de Cittium*, époque incertaine mais probablement reculée.

L'Inscription en question est celle du Musée d'Oxford reproduite par Gesenius dans ses '*Monumenta Phœnicia*,' pl. xi., inscr. No. ix., 2 b.

## TYPE TABLE OF SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

I have but little to say in commendation of the subjoined type table of comparative Semitic alphabets, the majority of which consist of such reproductions of the materials of early commentators as the German type-founders charced to have prepared for the use of printers.

The series Nos. 1, 3, and 4, which are based upon Gesenius' plates, were procured for the casual illustration of the general subject, before I was favoured with the elaborate and more mature facsimiles of the Duc de Luynes, which in a measure supersede the less comprehensive alphabets in type metal,<sup>1</sup> though I have permitted these latter to stand in their introductory capacity, for the purposes of facility of reference. The Kufic literal signs are likewise of but limited palæographic

<sup>1</sup> [The fourth or Palmyrene series is peculiarly infelicitous in its rendering of the forms of the originals; however, M. de Luynes' facsimiles will amend its deficiencies.]

# TABLE OF SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

MODERN HEBREW.	א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת
1. PHENICIAN.	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙
NUMISMATIC 2. PHENICIAN.	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙
3. ARAMAIC.	ܐ ܒ ܓ ܕ ܗ ܘ ܙ ܠ ܡ ܢ ܣ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܢ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ
4. PALMYRENE.	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋 𐤌 𐤍 𐤎 𐤏 𐤐 𐤑 𐤒 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 𐤖 𐤗 𐤘 𐤙
5. SYRIAC.	ܐ ܒ ܓ ܕ ܗ ܘ ܙ ܠ ܡ ܢ ܣ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܢ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ
MODERN SYRIAC.	ܐ ܒ ܓ ܕ ܗ ܘ ܙ ܠ ܡ ܢ ܣ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܢ ܥ ܦ ܩ ܚ ܛ ܠ ܫ ܬ ܥ ܘ ܠ ܢ ܐ
6. KUFIC.	ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي ك ل م ن س ع ف ص ق ر ش ت
MODERN ARABIC.	ا ب ج د ه و ز ح ط ي ك ل م ن س ع ف ص ق ر ش ت



value, as they do not represent the earliest form of that adaptive alphabet.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, two sets of characters (not of German execution) to which I desire to call attention. No. 2 comprises the Numismatic Phœnician cut for the Duc de Luynes, and imitated principally from the forms of letters prevailing on the coins of Cilicia and Cyprus. The alphabet No. 5 is, likewise, a novelty, for which I am indebted to the Rev. W. Cureton,<sup>2</sup> who explains its derivation in the following terms:—

'The type was principally copied from MSS. of the 6th century, and represents the earliest form of the character known to us. It is identical with that of the most ancient MS. in the British Museum, date A.D. 411; but the forms of the letters are made a little more carefully than they were written by the person who copied that MS., and imitate more closely those of some better scribe, although about a century later.'

The alphabet in question claims a double interest, in exemplifying the earliest extant Syriac writing, as well as in its near identity with the Estrangelo graven on the celebrated Nestorian monument of Si'gan Fu, dated in the 8th century,<sup>3</sup> while its progress on its Central Asian course, thus clearly marked, illustrates the parentage of the Mongol alphabets, whose derivation from a Syriac source has long been freely conceded.

<sup>1</sup> [A valuable contribution towards the study of the palæography of the Arabs has been furnished by J. C. Lindberg ('Lettre à M. Brøndsted,' Copenhagen, 1830), from whose work I cite the following note on the earlier authorities on the subject:—I. G. C. Adler. 'Descriptio codicum quorundam cuficorum in bib. reg. Hauniensi,' Altonæ, 1780. Silvestre de Sacy. 'Mémoires sur l'origine et les anciens monumens de la littérature parmi les Arabes.' 'Mém. de l'Académie,' vol. 1., p. 247. The same. 'Notices et Extraits,' etc., vol. viii., p. 209; and 'Journal Asiatique,' 1827. M. Kopp. 'Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit,' ii., 287.—To these I may add Marcel's 'Palæographie Arabe,' Paris, 1828. 'Ibn Khallikan,' Orient. Trans. Fund, pp. xv., xvi., etc.; and lastly, I would refer to M. Renan's comprehensive review, p. 320, in his 'Histoire générale des Langues Sémitiques,' 1855. While referring to Kufic writing, I must not omit to call attention to the interesting copper-plate grant to the Christian Church in India—which bears the signatures of attesting witnesses—severally in Kufic, Pehlvi, and Hebrew characters. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. vii., p. 343. 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science,' vol. xiii. (1846), pl. viii.]

<sup>2</sup> [Or I should rather say my obligations are due to Mr. Watts, of Crown Court, to whom the type properly belongs.]

<sup>3</sup> ['La Chine d'Athanase Kirchère.' Amsterdam, 1670.—'Assemani,' iii., 2nd part, p. 738. Romæ, 1728.—M. Huc. 'Christianisme en Chine,' p. 48. Paris, 1847.—'Journal of the American Oriental Society,' vol. v., p. 278.—Reinaud, 'Géogr. d'Aboulféda,' p. 365.—Renan, 'Hist. Gén.,' vol. i., p. 268.]

Finally, I have introduced a set of Zend letters, more with the object of completing the series of cognate alphabets, than for any credence I wish to claim for them among the other palæographic memorials of the ancient currency of which we have good and authentic proof; and, for the purposes of direct comparison, I have prefixed to this enlarged alphabet the several original Pehlvi characters upon which the Zend correspondents seem so obviously to have been formed.<sup>1</sup>

## II. ARIAN NOMENCLATURE.

I do not propose to recapitulate the Arian transcriptions of the Greek names; the details of each, together with the variations in the standard orthography, will be found duly marked in the Coin Catalogue, and most of their peculiarities will have already been considered in the determination of the alphabet in whose literal forms they are expressed. The same may be said of the Oriental names, which in process of time superseded the Greek designations, and where the definition must be supposed to be authoritative under its Arian form rather than in the now imitative transcript in Grecian characters. It may, however, be useful to summarize the Arian titles, whether direct translations or local equivalents of the leading idea of titularization adopted from the conquerors, even if it be merely to avoid the tedious repetition of interpretations on the recurrence of each king's little-varied epithets.

1. The more common indigenous titles of *Maharaj*, 'great king,' and its superlative combinations of *Rajadhiraj*, 'king over kings,' and *Rajaraja*, 'king of kings,' scarcely require notice.

2. The equivalent of the Greek *σωτήρ* is rendered by the word *Tradata*, a provincial derivative from *𑀲𑀸𑀓*, 'to preserve'; and here, as in all cases, I adhere to the manifest orthography

<sup>1</sup> [This Zend type, like the early Syriac just acknowledged, is also the property of Mr. Watts. The very excellent Pehlvi fount, as has been already noticed, belongs to Messrs. Harrison and Co., St. Martin's-lane.]

# ZEND ALPHABET.<sup>1</sup>

## VOWELS.

SHORT VOWELS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬀 <i>a</i> .	𐬁 <i>i</i> .	𐬂 <i>u</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬀 <i>a</i> .	𐬃 <i>e</i> .	𐬁 <i>i</i> .
LONG VOWELS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬀 <i>ai</i> .	𐬄 <i>ī</i> .	
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬀 <i>á</i> .	𐬅 <i>í</i> .	𐬆 <i>ú</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬇 <i>o</i> .	𐬈 <i>ó</i> .	𐬉 <i>áo</i> .
			𐬊 <i>ē</i> .

## CONSONANTS.

GUTTURALS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬑 <i>k</i> .	𐬒 <i>ku</i> .	𐬓 <i>g</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬑 <i>k</i> .	𐬔 <i>kh</i> .	𐬕 <i>q</i> .
PALATALS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬖 <i>ch</i> .		𐬗 <i>j</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬖 <i>ch</i> .		𐬘 <i>j</i> .
DENTALS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬙 <i>t</i> .		𐬚 <i>d</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬙 <i>t</i> .	𐬛 <i>ih</i> .	𐬜 <i>th</i> .
LABIALS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬝 <i>p</i> .		𐬞 <i>b</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬝 <i>p</i> .	𐬟 <i>f</i> .	𐬞 <i>b</i> .
SEMI-VOWELS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬠 <i>i</i> or <i>y</i> .	𐬡 <i>r</i> .	
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬢 𐬣 (𐬣 med.) <i>y</i> .	𐬡 <i>r</i> .	𐬤 (𐬤 med.) <i>v</i> .
„ <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬠 <i>v</i> or <i>w</i> .	𐬢 <i>h</i> .	
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬢 <i>w</i> .	𐬢 <i>h</i> .	
SIBILANTS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬥 <i>s</i> .	𐬦 <i>sh</i> .	𐬧 <i>z</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬥 <i>s</i> ( <i>ç</i> ).	𐬦 <i>sh</i> .	𐬢 <i>s</i> .
NASALS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬨 <i>n</i> .		𐬩 <i>m</i> .
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬨 <i>n</i> .	𐬪 <i>ñ</i> .	𐬫 <i>an</i> .

<sup>1</sup> The definition of the Zend Alphabet is adopted from Spiegel's 'Grammatik der Pársisprache;' the Pehlvi series is confined to the older and unpointed forms.



of the original, without attempting to reconcile the deviations from the laws of Sanskrit grammatical construction, or to trace the process of vernacular degradation; it is sufficient to say that, having the Greek counterpart, and ordinarily an appropriate Sanskrit root, we must remain content to take the inflections and orthographical variations the die engravers have left behind them.

3. The *δίκαιος* of the coins is represented by the term *Dhamika*, or rather *Dhramika*, from धृ, 'to hold, to maintain,' whence धर्म, 'virtue,' etc.

4. The term *νικηφόρος* appears under the optional forms of *Jayadhara* and *Jayata*, the derivation of which, from वि, 'to conquer,' जय, 'conquest,' is sufficiently obvious.

5. The counterpart of *ἀνικητος* appears in parallel accord as *apadihāta*,<sup>1</sup> for अप्रतिहत, 'unrepulsed' (from हन, 'to strike or hurt').

6. *Mahata* and *Mahataka*, of obvious derivation, occur as the representatives of the Greek *μεγας*.

7. The title *Pradicha*, otherwise *Praticha*, which stands as the indigenous representative of the Greek *ἐπιφάνης*, may readily be identified as the vernacular form of प्रतिष्ठित *Pratishthita*, 'renowned.'

8. The transcripts of the Greek *σατράπης* and *σάτρηγός* seem sufficiently assured, as likewise does the translation of 'ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΥΣ' in the local *Brada-putrasa*, 'brother's son.'

### III.—THE EPOCHAL AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BACTRIAN MONARCHY.

I have already intimated that I am not in a position, either as regards preparation or present opportunity, to review, with the deliberation the subject demands, the classification of the long list of Bactrian kings, the sole witnesses of whose rule, in the majority of cases, exist in the emanations from their mints

<sup>1</sup> [On Gondophares' coins, *apratihata*.]



exhumed from time to time in and around the ancient seats of government.

In other cases credit is claimed for coins under their faculty of illustrating written history: in this instance they comprehend the sole data for history itself; at least, from their records alone must be drawn, with scant exception, all testimony at present available of the survival, re-institution, and extinction of the dominant Hellenic element on the site of Alexander's furthest conquest in the East. In the almost total absence of annals, whether Occidental or Oriental, it is from the legends stamped upon the public money that we must reconstruct the story of the otherwise unrecorded potentates who swayed the destinies of these lands for upwards of two centuries.

For such tales as these medallic memorials may tell, I must refer to the works of those authors who from time to time have treated this section of numismatics in detail; contenting myself, for the present, with reproducing, with but scant comment, the matured results arrived at by each.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*Independent Works*.—‘Historia regni Græcorum Bactriani, in qua simul Græcarum in India coloniarum vetus memoria explicatur, auctore Theophil. Sigeffr. Bayero,’ Petropoli, 1738. Mionnet, ‘Supplément,’ vol. viii. (1837). Lassen, ‘Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige,’ Bonn, 1838. ‘Coins of Greek, Parthian, and Indo-Scythian Kings of Bactria and the countries on the Indus,’ by Dr. C. Grotefend, Hanover, 1840. ‘Ariana Antiqua: a descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan (with a memoir on the buildings called Topes,’ by C. Masson), H. H. Wilson, London, 1841. ‘Historical Results, deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan,’ by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., London, 1844. ‘Indische Alterthumskunde,’ von Ch. Lassen, Bonn, 1847.

*Calcutta Asiatic Researches*.—‘Description of select coins from originals or drawings in the possession of the Asiatic Society,’ by H. H. Wilson, Esq., vol. xvii., p. 559 (1832).

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.—‘Note on Capt. Hay’s Bamian Coins,’ by H. Torrens, Esq., vol. ix., p. 70. ‘Points in the history of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul, and India, as illustrated by decyphering the ancient legends on their coins,’ by Christian Lassen, Bonn, 1838, vol. ix., p. 251; continued, pp. 339, 449, 627, 733. ‘Notice of some counterfeit Bactrian Coins,’ by Captain Alexander Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 393. ‘Notes on Captain Hay’s Bactrian Coins,’ by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 531. ‘Description of, and deductions from, a consideration of some new Bactrian Coins,’ by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 867; note to ditto, p. 1008. ‘Second notice of some forged coins of the Bactrians and Indo-Scythians,’ by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 1217. ‘A sketch of the second Silver Plate found at Badakshân,’ by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. x., p. 570. ‘Second notice of some new Bactrian Coins,’ by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. xi., p.

## No. 1.

## GREEK DYNASTIES.—GENERAL LIST.

PROF. H. H. WILSON.

	B.C.		B.C.
Theodotus I. . . . .	256	Philoxenes . . . . .	130
Theodotus II. . . . .	240	Antialkides . . . . .	135
Euthydemus . . . . .	220—190	Archebius . . . . .	125—120
Demetrius . . . . .	190	Menander . . . . .	126
Eukratides . . . . .	181	Apollodotus . . . . .	110
Heliokles . . . . .	147	Diomedes . . . . .	100
Lysias . . . . .	147	Hermæus . . . . .	98
Amyntas . . . . .	135	Agathokles . . . . .	135
Agathokleia . . . . .		Pantaleon . . . . .	120
Antimachus . . . . .	140		

## BARBARIC KINGS.

SU-HERMÆUS, KADAPHES, KADPHISES.

Mayes . . . . .	100	Aziliscs . . . . .	60
Palirisus . . . . .	80	Azes . . . . .	50
Spalyrus . . . . .	75	ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, <i>King of Kings</i> .	

130. 'On the Gem and Coins figured in the preceding plate,' by H. Torrens, Esq., B.C.S., vol. xi., p. 137. 'Coins of the Indo-Scythian Princes of Cabul (translations of some uncertain Greek legends),' by H. Torrens, Esq., B.C.S. vol. xx., p. 137. 'Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek inscriptions,' by Major A. Cunningham, vol. xxiii., p. 379.

*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*—'An account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu medals, found in India,' by Major James Tod, vol. i., p. 313.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—'Observations on some ancient Indian Coins in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society,' by Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. iii., p. 381.

*Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—'Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins, in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,' by James Bird, Esq., vol. i., p. 293.

*Journal des Savants.*—M. Raoul Rochette, A.D. 1834, pp. 328, 385. Supplément, 1835, pp. 514, 577; note, 640, (Dr. Honigberger's coins). 2me Supplément, A.D. 1836, February; Allard's (i.e. Ventura's) collection. 3ème Supplément, A.D. 1838, p. 736; M. Court's collection; ditto, A.D. 1839, p. 89, ditto.

*Journal Asiatique.*—M. E. Jacquet, Feb. 1836, 3ème série, vol. i., p. 122; Sept. 1836, vol. ii., p. 234; Nov. 1837, vol. iv., p. 401; Feb. 1838, vol. v., p. 163; May, 1839, vol. vii., p. 385.

*Revue Numismatique, Blois.*—'Collection Numismatique du Général Court: Rois de la Bactriane,' par Ad. de Longperier, p. 81 (1839).

*Numismatic Journal* (London).—'Græco-Bactrian Coins,' by Professor Wilson, vol. i., p. 144 (1837). 'Proceedings of the Numismatic Society' (London). 'Memoir, by Professor Wilson, on the recently discovered Græco-Bactrian Coins, 14th Dec., 1837.

*Numismatic Chronicle.*—Major Cunningham, 'Monograms, etc.,' vol. viii., p. 175. W. C. W. Vaux, Esq., on Bactrian Coins, vol. xvi., p. 108.]

## INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Vonones . . . . .	Kodes . . . . .
Undopherres . . . . .	Miscellaneous Arsacidan
Gondophares . . . . .	Kings . . . . .
Abagasus . . . . .	

## INDO-SCYTHIAN PRINCES OF KABUL.

Kadphises . . . . .	Oerki . . . . .
Kanerki . . . . .	Baraoro . . . . .
Kenorano . . . . .	Sassanians . . . . .

## CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION.

Euthydemus.	
Demetrius . . . . .	Eukratides.
Lysias . . . . .	Heliokles.
Amyntas . . . . .	Antialkides . . . . .
Agathokleia . . . . .	Antimachus . . . . .
	Philoxenes . . . . .
	Menander . . . . .
	Pantaleon
	Apollodotus
	Diomedes
	Hermæus
	Su-Hermæus (?)
	'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 267 (1841).

## No. 2.

## M. DE BARTHOLOMÆI'S LIST.

1. Défection de la Bactriane et commencement du règne de Diodote, vers 256 av. J. C.
2. Agathoclès succède à son père, vers 240 av. J. C.  
Euthydème s'empare du trône de la Bactriane par le meurtre d'Agathoclès 215 av. J. C.
4. Pantaléon se maintient dans le Kaboulistan oriental contre Euthydème jusque, vers 214 av. J. C.
5. Guerre d'Euthydème avec Antiochus après 210 av. J. C.
6. Traité de paix, conclu avec le Roi de Syrie, vers 206 av. J. C.
7. Euthydème fait des conquêtes dans l'Ariane et l'Arachosie, vers 200 av. J. C.
8. Démétrius fils d'Euthydème succède à son père, vers 190 J. C.
9. Eucratides s'empare de la royauté dans la Bactriane, Démétrius fonde une monarchie dans l'Arachosie et dans les contrées de l'Inde qui avaient été conquises par son père vers 181 av. J. C.
10. Eucratides fait pendant plusieurs années la guerre à Démétrius et finit par s'emparer de ses états, vers 164 av. J. C.
11. Eucratides étend ses conquêtes dans l'Inde, vers 160 av. J. C.
12. Meurtre d'Eucratide, par son fils Heliocles, qui s'empare de la couronne en Bactriane, vers 155 av. J. C.  
Ici commence le démembrement graduel de la monarchie, et les données historiques semblent nous manquer pour tenter même un ordre chronologique quelconque.
13. Antimachus fonde un royaume dans la Drangiane ?
14. Antialcides réunit sous sa domination l'Arachosie et la Kaboulistan oriental.

15. Ménandre fonde un puissant royaume dans l'Inde.  
 16. Arsace VI., Mitridate 1<sup>r</sup> roi Parthe, envahit la Drangiane, vers 145 av. J. C.  
 17. Chûte complète de la Monarchie grecque-bactrienne, proprement dite, vers 139 av. J. C. 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, p. 76.

The subjoined list has been abstracted from Major Cunningham's lithographed table inserted in the eighth volume of the 'Numismatic Chronicle,' 1843. It will be found to enter into an elaborate detail of the epochal and territorial distribution of the various divisions of the Bactrian empire. The assignment of the geographical boundaries is understood to have been primarily based upon the author's interpretations of the mint monograms discovered on the coins of the different kings. It is needless to add that these results must be received with considerable caution, as most of my readers will appreciate the ordinary difficulties environing the resolution of monogrammatic combinations, as well as the obstacles that exist to the application of the preferable readings under even a well-defined system of comparative geography, a department in which we are sadly deficient in regard to the countries in question.

## No. 3.

## MAJOR CUNNINGHAM'S TABLE.

NO.	B.C.	
1	256	Diodotus I. }
	243	Diodotus II. }
		Bactriana (including Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana).
2	247	Agathocles }
3	227	Pantalcon }
		Paropamisadæ and Nysa.
4	220	Euthydemus—Bactriana, Ariana (including Aria, Drangia, Arachosia, and Paropamisadæ), Nysa, and subsequently Gandharitis, Peukelaotis, and Taxila.
5	196	Demetrius—ditto, ditto; and, later in his reign, Patalene, Syrastrène, Larice
6	190	Heliocles—Bactriana and Paropamisadæ.
7	190	Antimachus Theos—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
8	185	Eucratides—Bactriana, Ariana, besides Patalene, Syrastrène, and Larice, as well as Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
9	173	Antimachus Nikephoros—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila, contemporarily with Eucratides' retention of the rest of his dominions.
10	165	Philoxenes—succeeds to Antimachus Nikephoros' kingdom
11		Nicias—ditto, with the exception of Taxila.
12	165	Apollodotus succeeds Eucratides in Ariana, as well as Pata., Syr., Lar.
13		Zoilus }
14		Diomedes }
15		Dionysius }
		follow Apollodotus in Ariana alone.
16	159	Lysias—succeeds these in Paropamisadæ, and obtains Nicias' dominion of Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.; while Mithridates I. possesses himself of Ariana, having previously gained Margiana from Eucratides.

## NO. B.C.

- 17 150 Antialcidas—succeeds to Lysias' kingdom.  
 18 Amyntas } follow Antialcidas.  
 19 Archebius }  
 20 161-140 Menander—reigns in Paropamisadæ, Nysa, Gand., Peuk., Taxila, Por.  
 Reg., Cath., Patalene, Syr., Lar.  
 21 135 Strato—succeeds, with the exception of the countries of Pata., Syr., Lar.,  
 which fall to Mauas.  
 22 Hippostratus } follow Strato.  
 23 Telephus }  
 24 126 Hermæus—rules over Parop., Nysa, Gand., Peuk. (The Su-Sakas obtain  
 Aria, Drangia, and Arach., from the Parthians).  
 25 Mauas—has Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Pata., Syr., Lar.  
 26 105 Kadphises—(*Yuchi*)—takes possession of Hermæus' kingdom, and Taxila  
 from Mauas (Kozola Kadaphes).  
 27 Vonones }  
 28 Spalygis } Paropamisadæ.  
 29 Spalirises }  
 30 110 Azas—succeeds Mauas, obtaining also, in 90 B.C., Nysa, Gand., and  
 Peuk.  
 31 80 Azilis—succeeds Azas in the three latter, adding Taxila, and the Paro-  
 pamisadæ.  
 32 80 The Soter Megas obtains the dominions of Azas, and subsequently those of  
 Azilis.  
 60 The Yuchi again possess Parop., Nysa, and Tax., etc.  
 33 26 Gondophares—reigns in Ariana.  
 34 Abdagases (and Sinnakes or Adinnigaus)—ditto in ditto, less the Parop.  
 A.D.  
 35 44 Arsaces (Ornospades or Orthomasdes)—ditto, ditto.  
 36 107 Pakores Monnesses—ditto, ditto (Hiätheleh in Bactriana. [36a Orthagnes.])  
 207 Artemon—in Aria, Drangia, Arachosia.  
 Sassanians.

'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. viii., p. 175 (1843).

## No. 4.

## M. LASSEN'S LIST.

## DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN UND GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

## 1. DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN.

Diodotus I., vor 250 vor Chr. G.

Diodotus II., seit 237 . . . . Agathokles, in Badakshan und am obern Indus  
 seit 245.

Euthydemus, unabhängig seit 245;

in Baktrien seit . . . . 222; Pantaleon.

Demetrios, seit 205; beseigt um 165.

Eukratides, nach 180.

Heliokles, seit 160; Lysias, nach 165; Antimachus, seit 170.

Archebios, 150-140; Antialkides; . . Philoxenes, um 160.

Amyntas.

-

-

57 卍 with 卍

58 ≡ E with No

59 卐

60 卐 卐 卐 with Ka  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

61 Key alone 7 8 9 10

62 卐

63 卐 卐

64 卐

65 卐 a 卐

66 卐

67 卐

68 卐

69 卐

70 卐

71 卐

72 卐

73 卐

74 卐

75 卐

76 卐

77 卐

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86	9	117	M	148	Rev
87	Σ " A   Σ	118		149	Rev
88		119		150	Rev
89	a	120		151	Rev
90	a	121		152	Rev
91		122	Rev	153	Rev
92	a	123		154	
93		124	a	155	a
94		125	2	156	a b c
95		126	a	157	
96	k	127	a b c	158	
97	2	128	a	159	*
98	?	129		160	
99	5	130		161	
100	7	131	a b	162	
101	7 2	132	a	163	
102	2 5	133	a b c	164	
103	4	134	a b	165	
104	a	135	a	166	
105		136	a b c	167	
106		137	a b	168	
107		138		169	
108		139		170	
109		140		171	
110		141		172	
111		142	a	173	
112	a	143		174	
113		144		175	
114		145		176	
115		146		177	
116		147	Rev	178	



## 2. DIE GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

Apollodotos, nach 160.

Zoilos und Dionysios.

Menandros, seit 144.

Straton, um 124.

Hippostratos, nach 114.

Diomedes, Nikias, Telephos, zwischen 114 u. 100.

Hermaios, 100—85.

## No. 5.

## DIE INDOSKYTHISCHEN UND PARTHISCHEN KÖNIGE.

## 1. ÇAKA-KÖNIGE.

Mayes, nach 120 vor Chr. G.

Azilises, um 100.

Azes, seit 95.

Spalirisos, um 60.

Vonones, kurz vor u. nach Chr. G.

Spalygis.

Yndopherres, um. 90.

Abdagases, von 40 bis 30.

## 2. JUEITCHI-KÖNIGE.

Kadphises I., nach 85 vor Chr. G.

Kadaphes, und seine namenlosen Nachfolger etwa bis 60 v. Chr. G.

Kadphises II., seit 24 vor Chr. G., bis etwa 1.

## 3. TURUSHKA-KÖNIGE.

Hushka oder Oerki, von etwa 10 vor bis 5 nach Chr. G.

Gushka, bis 10 nach Chr. G.

Kanishka, oder Kanerki, bis 40.

Balan, bis 45.

Oer Kenorano, bis 60.

‘Indische Alterthumskunde,’ vol. ii., p. xxiv., published 1852.

IV.—As I am compelled to avoid entering upon any such comprehensive revision of the general subject as should justify my attempting to recast the order of succession of the Greek princes of Bactria and Northern India, it becomes necessary that I should adopt, for the moment, some one of the lists above quoted, to serve as a basis for the arrangement of the annexed catalogue. I have therefore selected for the purpose that of Major Cunningham, as being more full in names, more facile of reference, and as grounded upon an examination of by far the most ample series of original specimens.

This outline, it will be seen, was published many years ago, and I have no doubt its author would now be prepared to subject it to extensive modifications. I shall perhaps be pardoned, therefore, for anticipating some of the more obviously needed emendations. In regard to the tables of monograms which accompany this catalogue (pls. xi.c and xi.d), it may be necessary to explain that a degree of difficulty has been experienced in the allocation of the several varieties of these enigmatical compounds. Some examples, that depart but slightly from combinations previously entered, have been inserted in

the plates independently in their modified form, in order to avoid the risk of the omission of what might eventually prove to be a separate symbol. And, further, some few monograms have been intentionally repeated, with a view to bring more distinctly together the complete group pertaining to a given monarch.

The perpendicular lines dividing the associate ciphers (60 *et seq.*) are inserted to mark the position in the field of the piece, in reference to the main device, occupied by each.

## I. DIODOTUS.

### 1.—Gold.

OBVERSE :—Head of the king, with fillet, to the right.

REVERSE :—Erect figure of Jupiter, in the act of hurling the thunderbolt; ~~E~~gis on the left arm; eagle in front of the left leg; a chaplet in the field; no monogram.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav. ;' 'Bibliothèque Impériale,' Captain Hay. (This last most perfect coin has, in addition to the other symbols, a spear head in the field under the left arm); 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 218; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' pl. lxxii, 4.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.—Tetradrachma. Similar types (Cunningham, 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. viii., p. 178, and unpublished plates).

Monogram, No. 1, with I. The chaplet is omitted.

### \*—Drachma. Similar types.

M. de Bartholomæi, 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, p. 75, pl. fig. 1. Monogram, No. 2, with C. a; chaplet, etc.

Mr. Stokes' and British Museum Coins, Monograms indistinct. Major Cunningham further cites in his table the Monogram No. 2<sup>a</sup> from the Coins of Diodotus ('Num. Chron.,' vol. viii., p. 179).

## II. AGATHOCLES.

### 1.—Tetradrachma (weight, 4 drachmes 14 grains Fr.)

OBVERSE :—Head, with fillet, to the right. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

REVERSE :—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 3 (with chaplet).

M. de Bartholomæi, 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, pl. iii., fig. 2, p. 67.

An equally perfect coin of similar types, in the possession of Mr. J. Gibbs, Bombay Civil Service, has the monogram No. 4. The piece in question is stated to weigh 270 grains.

<sup>1</sup> Coins bearing similar devices, from the mint of Antiochus II., may be referred to in pl. ii., fig. 1, p. 25, vol. i. of this work; Burnes's 'Bokhâra,' pl. iii., fig. 8; 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 219; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxii., 3.—Monograms: Mr. Gibbs' coin (Tetrad.) A. (see pl. xlii., fig. 1 of this work); 'Bibliothèque Impériale,' B.; Captain Hay (Drachma) C; Mr. Freres' coin (Drachma) C. a associated with D.

- 2.—Tetradrachma. Plate xiii., fig. 3. (These leading numbers refer, in each case, to the plates inserted in this work.)

OBVERSE :—Head of king.

REVERSE:—Jupiter, with the left hand resting on a spear, and the right holding a figure of Diana Lucifera.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Monogram, No. 5. Mr. Gibbs.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 3; 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1836, pl. ii., fig. 1;  
'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxiv.

- a)—Drachma. Similar types.

**Monogram, No. 3.**

'Jour. des Sav.', June, 1834, pl. fig. 2. 'Grotefend' (1839), p. 29.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 4. 'Bibl. Imp.,' Monogram, No. 5.

- ### 3.—Drachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of Bacchus, to the right.

REVERSE:—Panther, to the right, with a bunch of grapes in his fore-paw.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

**No Monogram.**

'Jour. des Sav.', 1834, pl. fig. 1. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 5.  
'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxiv., 2.

- 4.—○ Copper. Types as in No. 3, with the exception that the spear which appears doubtfully on the obverse of the former class is here distinct and positive, while, in lieu of the bunch of grapes, a small vine is introduced in front of the panther on the reverse.

Monogram, No. 6. ΑΡΑΧΩΣΙΑ (?)

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 6. 'Num. Jour.', vol. vii., pl. iii., 30.

Mr. G. H. Freeling, Bengal Civil Service, has a cast (in silver) from an apparently genuine original of this coinage, which bears the detached letters **PI** in place of a monogram.

- 5.—□ Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 9.

OBVERSE:—Panther to the right.

LEGEND.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

REVERSE:—Bacchante.

**LEGEND**, in Indian Pāli,  $\text{𑀧𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀲𑀻}$  *Agathuklayesa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., figs. 7, 8, 9.; and 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. i., fig. 1.

Some varieties of these coins display mint marks or letters on the right of the Bacchante. The character is usually formed like a modern Hebrew ב δ; it may be either an Arian γ δ or a Pāli १ ns; at times, again, it takes the form of an Arian ʿ te or re. An analogous piece, in the British Museum, exhibits the Greek letters ΣΗ, on the obverse.

### III. PANTALEON.

- 1.—⊖ Debased silver (unpublished).

OBVERSE:—Type similar to No. 4. Agathocles.

REVERSE :—Ditto.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

No monogram.

**Mr. H. Brereton, Bengal Civil Service.**

## 2.—□ Copper. Pl. xxviii. fig. 8. [Types similar to No. 5. Agathocles.]

OBVERSE:—Panther.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

REVERSE:—Bacchante.

LEGEND, in Indian Páli, ८. १. ३ ८ ८ *Pantalewasa*.

Monogram:—८, १, etc. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi. fig. 11.

## IV. EUTHYDEMUS.

## 1.—Gold.

OBVERSE:—Head of king to the right, with fillet.

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock, resting his club on a pile of stones.

LEGEND.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 7, according to 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 1.; quoted from Pellerin, 'Additions aux Médailles des Rois,' p. 95. The 'Bibl. Imp.' coin, to my perception, has the monogram copied under No. 7 a.

## 2.—Tetradrachma. Pl. ii., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—As in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Hercules, etc., with his club resting on his right knee.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Nos. 8, 8a, Aa, 9.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., figs. 2, 3, 4. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 2; 1835, pl. i., fig. 2.

a)—Drachma, similar types. Capt. Hay. Monogram, 8a.

Variant, pl. xiii. fig. 1. Reverse, type as in gold coin. Monogram, No. 10.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 3; Monogram, No. 11.

Other coins have Monograms, Nos. 12, Ab, Ac, Aa, and Ad.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi. fig. 1, has 12 with Ab.

a)—Drachma, similar types. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 2.

3.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xxxi. 3, and pl. xlii., figs. 2, 3.<sup>2</sup>

OBVERSE:—Head of King.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing, to the front; head encircled with a chaplet; on the left arm are the club and lion's skin; right hand extended.

Monogram, No. 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 11. Monogram 5a.

Variety. Other coins vary the reverse device, inasmuch as the extended right hand holds a second chaplet. British Museum, Monogram, No. 8a (weight, 260.4 gr.) Brereton ditto (weight, 258.5 gr.)

a)—Drachma, as No. 3 variety. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 12; 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. i., fig. 3; British Museum, plated coin, Monogram 5?

## 4.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Laurelled head of Apollo to the left.

REVERSE:—Tripod. R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 741.

<sup>1</sup> [Where the legends are omitted, they are to be understood to be identical with those cited on the latest occasion.]<sup>2</sup> [I have had the obverses of the two coins, lately acquired by Messrs. Frere and Brereton, engraved, for the purpose of enabling numismatists to compare the portraiture, as here rendered, with the style of likeness prevailing on classes 1 and 2, an impression existing among our most practised antiquarians that the contrasting dies represent the busts of two independent monarchs, as opposed to the idea of a likeness of one and the same person at different periods of his life.]

## 5.—○ Copper. Pl. xxxii., fig. 4.

OBVERSE:—Bearded head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Horse, free. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., figs. 13, 14, 15.

## 6.—☉ Copper (small).

OBVERSE:—Head indistinct.

REVERSE:—Erect figure of Apollo to the left, with arrow in the right and bow in the left hand. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 1.

## 7.—☉ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head as in No. 4.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

Monogram, No. 5a. Captain Hay; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxii. 11; also 'Köhler,' pl. i. 3.<sup>1</sup>

## V. DEMETRIUS.

## 1.—Tetradrachma. Head of king with fillet, to the right.

REVERSE:—Minerva armed, to the front.

LEGEND.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 13, with the letter Δ above the figure.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835 (Hönigberger's coin), vol. i., p. 4, 1835; re-engraved in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 3. 'Trés. de Num.,' lxxii. 14.

## 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right, with helmet fashioned like an elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Hercules, like No. 3, Euthydemus' device, but his right hand is upraised in the act of placing the chaplet on his brow.

LEGEND.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monogram, No. 5. 'Köhler,' p. 321.

Monogram, No. 8a. R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1838, p. 743.

B.M. coins, monograms, Nos. 5 (weight, 263·5 grs.), 8a, and 14 (inferior execution, weight, 236 grs.)

## a)—Oboli. Plate xiii., fig. 2. Similar devices. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 5.

Monogram, 5. M. Raoul Rochette notices a Triobolus of this type,

'Jour. des Sav.,' Deux. Supp. 16. 'Trésor Numismatique,' p. 149.

Other monograms, 5b, 6, and 8a.

## b)—No. 4, pl. ii., 'Ariana Antiqua,' has the neck of the king bare.

A second unpublished coin E. I. H. has the monogram No. 15 (OΞ).

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head of Hercules.

REVERSE:—Apollo (?)

Monogram, No. 15. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> [I have not been able to obtain a sight of Köhler's work; I quote his coins from Grotefend, 'Die Münzen der Könige von Bactrien,' 1839. The original seems to have appeared under the following title: 'Köhler, Médailles grecques de Rois de la Bactriane, du Bosphore,' etc. Petersbourg, 1822, 8vo. 'Supplément à la suite des Méd. des Rois de la Bactriane,' *ibid.*, 1823.]



## 4.—Copper.

OBVERSE as No. 3.

REVERSE:—Hercules; the right arm is upraised towards the head of the figure.  
Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xi., pl. fig. 1.

## 5.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—The Caduceus.

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. ix., p. 69; and vol. xi., pl. fig. 2.

## VI. HELIOCLES.

## 1.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king to the right.

REVERSE:—Jove, standing to the front, with spear and thunderbolt.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Grotefend, p. 30, quoting 'Catalogue d'Ennery,' p. 40.<sup>1</sup>

'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxiii., 15.

Monogram, No. 16.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 6,

British Museum coins, monograms, Nos. 11a, B (weight of piece, 259·6 grs.)

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monogram 17. Mr. Brereton, ditto. Lady Sale, No. 16.

A cast in the possession of Mr. Freeling has the letters ΠΓ (No. 19) below the word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ on the reverse.

\*)—Drachma. similar types. 'Bibl. Imp.' Monogram, 11b.

## 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head.

REVERSE:—Jupiter seated: the right hand holding a small figure of victory, the left resting on a spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Capt. Hay.

## 3.—○ Plated copper (Drachma?).

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, closely resembling that of Eukratides, within a marginal border of alternate drops and beads.

REVERSE:—Jove seated.

LEGEND (blundered):—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Mr. E. C. Bayley; also, Capt Hay.

\*)—Drachma. Similar types.

Monogram Ω.

Capt. Hay.

## 4.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

REVERSE:—Jove, as above, No. 1.

LEGEND, in Bactrian-Pāli or Arian characters, *Mdhdrājasa Dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 8. Monogram Σ.

The orthography of the name in the Arian varies at times to *Heliyakresasa* and *Eliyakreyasa*; the former occurs on a coin in the E. I. H., with the monogram No. 8a. Other hemidrachmas have monograms No. 20 and 20 with Σ.

<sup>1</sup> [ 'Catalogue des Médailles du Cabinet,' de M. d'Ennery. Paris, 1788.]

- 5.—□ Copper. Pl. xliii., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Head.

REVERSE:—Elephant to the left.<sup>1</sup>

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 7, monogram Σ. Other monograms,

Nos. 8a. E. I. C. coin, 21. Mr. Frere, monogram No. 22.

These coins also differ occasionally in the expression of the Arian version of the name, exhibiting it as *Heliakreyasa* and *Heliakraasa*.

- 6.—□ Copper. Plate xliii., fig. 8. As No. 5, but the elephant on the reverse is to the right.

- 7.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the right.

REVERSE:—Bull.

Capt. Hay.<sup>3</sup>

- 8.—Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 4. Degraded type.

OBVERSE:—Head.

REVERSE:—Figure as in No. 1. Legends corrupt and imperfect.

- 9.—Copper. Plate xv., figs. 12, 13, 14. Degraded type.

OBVERSE:—Head.

REVERSE:—Horse, free, to the left. Legends corrupt and imperfect.

## VII. ANTIMACHUS ΘΕΟΞ.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.<sup>3</sup> (Cast.)

OBVERSE:—Head with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

REVERSE:—Standing figure of Jupiter, as in the gold coinage of Diodotus.

LEGEND.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 12.

Capt. Hay. Mr. Brereton has a similar forgery with the same monogram.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right, with Causia.

REVERSE:—Neptune, to the front, with trident and palm-branch.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

'Köhler,' i. 10, reproduced by 'Mionnet,' sup. viii. 466.

Monogram, No. 23. British Museum coins, monogram No. 8a and 23.

Lady Sale and Mr. Brereton, also No. 23.

- \*)—Drachma. British Museum, monogram No. 23.

<sup>1</sup> [The Arian legends, like the Greek, are ordinarily omitted after one insertion; where not otherwise noted, therefore, the succeeding coins are to be understood to bear similar epigraphs.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, for most of these notices of Captain W. E. Hay's coins. I myself have seen only the silver pieces of that officer's valuable collection.]

<sup>3</sup> [It is needless to say that this important piece, which, though a cast, is evidently taken from a genuine antique, necessitates the promotion of Antimachus Theos to a close proximity, if not to a contemporaneous existence, with the founder of the Bactrian independence. This coin was not known in England when Art. iii., vol. i., went to press.]

- <sup>b</sup>)—Hemidrachma (31·7 grs.). British Museum coin, monogram No. 9a. A second, monogram No. 23.

Major Cunningham ('*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*,' vol. ix., p. 872) describes a 'plated' hemidrachma of Antimachus Theos, with the monogram 'Xo.'

- <sup>c</sup>)—Obolus. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 12. Monogram 8a.

### VIII. EUCRATIDES.

- 1.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xlii., fig. 2.

OBVERSE.—Bare head of the king, with fillet.

REVERSE.—Apollo, bow in the left, and arrow in the right hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Köhler,' 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 4, monogram No. 9a.<sup>1</sup>

Lady Sale, same monogram. See also '*Jour. des Sav.*,' Sept., 1835, i. 5;

'Mionnet,' sup. viii.; British Museum coins, monograms Nos. 10, 24, 25;

'Bib. Imp.,' No. 26; M. le Duc de Luynes, No. 5a.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Drachma. Similar types. Pl. xlii. 6. General Fox, monogram 29.

- 2.—Obolus. Plate xxxii., fig. 10.

OBVERSE.—Bare head of king.

REVERSE.—Cape and palm-branches of Dioscuri. Same legend as No 1.

Monograms, Nos. 8a, 13a, 27, 28, 28a.

- 3.—Obolus.

OBVERSE.—Helmeted head of king.

REVERSE.—As in No. 2.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 5. Gen. Fox, monogram No. 13a.

E. I. H., 13a, M, and 19a. British Museum, monog. 12—i.e. N.

- 4.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

REVERSE.—Dioscuri, charging.

British Museum. Monogram 8a.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Drachma. Pl. xlii., fig. 6. Similar types.

'*Jour. des Sav.*,' 1836, ii., 3. 'Trés. de Num.,' pl. lxxiii. fig. 2.

B.I., monogram 11.

- 5.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xlii, fig. 4, p. 126. (Weight of E. I. H. coin, with suspending loop, 255·7 grs.)

OBVERSE.—Helmeted head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

REVERSE.—Male and female heads, uncovered and unadorned with fillets.

LEGEND:—ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Monogram, No. 13a. '*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*,' vol. vii., pl. xxvii., fig. 1. Re-engraved in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 7, from the original coin.

Col. Sykes' cast, from a possibly genuine coin of this class, and a second reproduction from the same or a similar original, in the possession of Mr. Brereton, both have the monogram No. 5c.

<sup>1</sup> [Where the monogram facsimiles in the plates differ from the published specimens, it must be understood that my copy has been taken anew from the original piece, and does not follow the engraving, cited for the mere illustration of the numismatic classification.]

- 6.—Tetradrachma. Plate xiii., fig. 5. (Weight of selected specimens in the British Museum, 258 and 259 grains.)


OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri, charging.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., figs. 1, 2, 3. Monograms 13a, 27, 29.

British Museum. Monograms, Nos. 5c, 11c, 13a, 29, 30, 31. Lady Sale, No. 28a.

B. I. Monograms, M, 29. Mr. Bayley. Monogram,  with HT in the field.

Capt. Robinson. Monograms 13a, 28a.

- \*)—Drachma. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 5: 1835, pl. i., fig. 6. 'Trés. de Num.,' lxxiii. 6. British Museum, monogram N. B.I. 28b. Hay, 5c.

- 7.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of the king, to the left, with a portion of the bust displayed; the right arm raised in the act of darting a javelin.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Monogram 5b (?) 'Köhler,' i. 8. 'Trés de Num.,' pl. lxxiii, fig. 7.

- 8.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head of Apollo to the right.

REVERSE:—Horse, free, to the left.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 7.

- 9.—○ Copper. Pl. xiii., fig. 7. Of similar devices and legends to No. 6.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 8, monogram, No. 21. Mr. Bayley, No. 40.

- 10.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the left, with javelin.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Köhler,' 'Mionnet,' viii. 470. British Museum, monogram 32.

- 11.—○ Copper. Size, 3. British Museum.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head to the left.

REVERSE:—A single horseman at the charge.

- 12.—□ Copper. Small coin. Pl. xxxii., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Caps and palm-leaves of the Dioscuri.

LEGEND IN ARIAN:—*Mahdrajasa Eukratidasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 12. 'Trés. de Num.,' lxxiii. 13.

- 13.—□ Copper. Pl. xiii., figs. 8–10.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, as in No. 6.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri.

LEGEND IN ARIAN:—*Mahdrajasa Eukratidasa*.

Monograms, 17a, 21, 27, 28a, 31 with E, 33, 33a, 34, 34a, 35, 35b, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., figs. 9, 10. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. i., fig. 7.

## 14.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head to the right.

REVERSE:—Seated figure to the left, with a small elephant at the side (as in Antialkides' coin, No. 1).

LEGEND indistinct.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 11.

## 15.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head of king to the left, with javelin.

REVERSE:—A winged figure of Victory to the right, with chaplet and palm branch.

LEGEND defective.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 5, monogram 13a.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head of king to the right.

REVERSE:—Victory to the left, extending a chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—(*Maharajasa*) *Rajadiraajasa Eukratidasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 6, and British Museum, monogram

40a. Mr. Bayley, monogram, 40.

Additional monograms of Eucratides, Nos. 8c, 27a, 33b, 42.

## IX. ANTIMACHUS ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ.

## 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xv., fig. 3.

OBERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the left, with palm branch in her right, and fillet in her left hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

REVERSE:—King on horseback, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa jayddhardsa Antimakhasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 16.

Prof. Wilson was under the impression that all these coins bore the same monograms, Nos. 31a ('Ariana Antiqua,' 274); they are now found to include the symbols classed under the following numbers, 27, 31, 46, and 46a.

## 2.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., 4.

OBERSE:—Demeter, to the front; cornucopia on her left arm. Legend imperfect.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa* . . . . *Antimakhasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 16. Monogram 2

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—The skin of an animal (?)

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Wreath and palm-branch.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa* . . . . *Antimakhasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 11. Monogram 47.

A silver cast of a genuine coin, in the possession of Mr. Bayley, definitely determines the attribution of this piece, contributing the full counterpart names as inserted above. It bears the monogram No. 27.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See also Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' April, 1840, p. 392.]

## X. PHILOXENES.

## 1.—Didrachma. Plate xv., fig. 1.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Horseman with helmet, as on the obverse of Antimachus Nikephorus' coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mdhdrājasa Apaḍihataśa Pilasinasa.*

'Jour. des. Sav.,' 1836. ii., 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 17.

Monogram No. 22a.

\*—□ Hemidrachma, of similar devices. Monograms No. 48a, with Σ.

Mr. Bayley.

†—□ Obolus (?). Types and legends as above. The Arian name is written, *Phalasinasa.* Monogram No. 35c. Captain Robinson.

Mr. Frere has a silver cast of an apparently authentic didrachma, which supplies us with a variety of this obverse type. The king's head is here uncovered. On the reverse, traces of the monogram 31a are visible. The Arian transcript of the name commences with the letter *Phi*.

## 2.—□ Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king with fillet, to the right. Legend as above.

REVERSE:—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Monogram No. 48a, with Σ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 13.

Colonel Abbott. Monograms, Nos. 22, 8.

## 3.—□ Copper. Plate iii., figs. 6, 7; plate xv., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Demeter, with the ordinary Greek legend.

REVERSE:—Humped bull, with the usual Arian legend; the initial of the name is indifferently expressed by *Pi* or *Phi*.

'Jour. des. Sav.,' 1836, ii., 6. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii. fig. 18.

Monogram Nos. 48a, 48a with Σ on reverse, 48, 49, 50. B.I., 51 (?) with a Bactrian γ r on reverse. Mr. Brereton. Monograms 22a, with an Arian v on reverse, 48a and 48b, with Σ on reverse.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Crowned figure, with a long spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—A figure of Victory.

Captain Hay.

X<sup>a</sup>. ARTEMIDORUS.1.—Hemidrachma.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Erect figure, with the right arm upraised.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Bull, as in Philoxenes' copper coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—(M)*dhdrājasa Apaḍihataśa A)ti(midarasa).*

Mr. Bayley.

These legends have been completed from a more perfect coin figured and assigned by Major Cunningham ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1864, p. 668).

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Brereton deposes to the discovery of a coin of this description, which has passed from his own possession to that of Major Cunningham. He is under the impression that the types are—Obverse: King's head. Reverse: Minerva Promachos.]

I conclude that this Artemidorus is the monarch styled Artemon in Major Cunningham's list above cited; but if so, the style and fabric of his coinage must very materially alter his assumed date and position in the general list as determined by that numismatist.

## XI. NIKIAS.

- 1.—□ Copper. Plate xlii., fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΠΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΩΝ.

REVERSE:—Horseman, as in No. 1, Philoxenes.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa* . . ΚΙΑΣΑ.

Colonel T. Bush. See also Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., p. 136.

## XII. APOLLODOTUS.

- 1.—○ Hemidrachma. Plate iii., fig. 4; also pl. xiv., fig. 4.

OBVERSE:—Head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa*.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Nos. 38a, 38b, 51, 51a, 51b, 52, 53.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 13.

- 2.—□ Hemidrachma. Plate xiv., fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Humped bull.

Legend as in No. 1.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 14.

Monograms 22b, and the entire suite, together with the combinations indicated under each number, from 54 to 59, both inclusive.

- 3.—○ Hemidrachma. Types and legends as No. 2.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 15.

<sup>1</sup> [The Arian orthography of the name of Apollodotus varies considerably in the different specimens of his extensive mintages. I notice in some instances a dot at the foot of the initial α, which elsewhere constitutes the sign of the long sound of that vowel. This is the solitary occasion upon which I have observed its use in defining more precisely the power of the ordinary ῥ initial. And, however little, to our ideas, the exact definition of the phonetic elements of the name may require the hard α in this place, we can scarcely understand the sign as purporting anything else, especially when we observe the lax method of insertion or omission of the same quantitative mark in other words. The antepenultimate δ is used indifferently in its simple form, or with the additional horizontal foot stroke, the precise import of which is yet undetermined; and, finally, the α occurs in its normal shape, with the dot of a following hard α. The penultimate is also subject to modification, usually appearing under the form of the proper ῥ = t, but at times bearing the foot stroke ordinarily reserved to distinguish the ῥ = d, of assimilate outline; but to show the irregularities practised in this respect, this extraneous mark is added to the t in the name, while on the same coin the special definition is rightly reserved to discriminate the ῥ = d from the ῥ = t in Tradatasa. It must be added, however, that in some instances the superfluous foot stroke, in the penultimate of apaladatasa takes the form of an equally needless hard α medial.]

## 4.—□ Copper. Small coin.

OBVERSE:—Figure of Apollo, with bow and arrow, to the right.

Legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as usual. Monogram, No. 38a.

Captain Robinson. Mr. Brereton, monogram 37 (?)

## 5.—○ Copper. Large coin. Plate xiv., fig. 6.

OBVERSE:—Apollo, with arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 2.

REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 16. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 6.

Variant. ○ Copper. Coin of inferior execution. Legends arranged on three sides of a square, instead of in the usual marginal circle.

Bactrian monogram, *gi*, with *d* or *n*.

Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 867.

## 6.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends to No. 5.

Monograms 63, 64.

## 7.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Apollo to the front, with the bow in the left and the arrow in the right hand. Legend as usual.

REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as usual. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, i. 7.

Variants. Small coin. Pl. xiv., fig. 8; also 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv. figs. 17, 18, and small coin No. 19.

Monograms Nos. 8, 8a, 21, 52a, 57, and the entire suite 65—75.

## 8.—□ Copper. Middle size.

OBVERSE:—'Figure of Apollo standing to the left, clothed in the anaxyris, with chlamys behind, a quiver at his back; an arrow in his right hand, his left resting on his bow; inclosed in a frame of oblong globules, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ [?] . . . ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.'

REVERSE:—'Tripod; in the field, a symbol which seems to be a military ensign.' Arianian inscription imperfect [*Apaladatasa*].

'Ariana Antiqua,' 291, quoting 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 752.

B. I. Monogram 38b. Small coin, 38a. Col. Bush. Arian Monogram, No. 76.

## 9.—□ Copper. Small coin. Plate xlii., fig. 6. Unique.

OBVERSE.—Apollo as in No. 8. Legend altogether wanting.

REVERSE:—Symbol figured in the plate.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa*. Col. T. Bush.

## 10.—□ Copper. Small coin.

OBVERSE:—Bull.

REVERSE:—Tripod, surrounded by a bossed margin. No Legends. B. I.

## 11.—□ Copper (middle size), indifferent execution.

OBVERSE:—Apollo (?) *seated*, to the right, a bow in left hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ . . . . . ΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Tripod, within a frame. Legend imperfect, . . . *paladatasa* (?).

Monogram, No. 77.

Mr. E. C. Bayley.



## XIII. ZOILUS.

## 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules, as in Demetrius' coins, but the right hand holding the chaplet is not upraised.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Dhramikasa Jhoilasa.*

Monogram, No. 30.

Lady Headfort, No. 31. Captain Robinson, No. 46. Colonel Abbott, No. 78. Mr. Bayley, No. 79.

2.—Hemidrachma.<sup>1</sup> These coins have a great similitude, in their die execution, to the small Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

OBVERSE:—As No. 1.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Jhoilasa.* Monogram No. 60.

Colonel Abbott. Mr. Bayley, No. 80.

3.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head of Hercules covered with the lion's skin, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Club, with bow in its case, surrounded by a chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Dhramikasa Jhoilasa.*

Monogram No. 79.

Lady Headfort.

4.—○ Copper. Similar types to the Apollodotus coin, No. 5, with the addition of a small elephant at the back of the figure, in the field of the obverse. Legends as in No. 2, but the Greek epigraph is less correctly rendered. Monograms Nos. 81, 82, 83.

5.—○ Copper (small coin).

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the right. Epigraph illegible.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Jhoilasa.*

Arian Monograms, *dhi*, *Bh*, and *a* with *t*.

Colonel Bush.

## XIV. DIOMEDES.

1.—□ Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—Dioscuri standing, to the front.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΑΟΥ.

REVERSE. ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Diyamedasa.*

Monograms Nos. 31, 31 with  $\Sigma$ . Mr. Brereton. 48a with  $\Sigma$ .

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham has published a degraded type of this class, which he supposes to have formed part of 'a coinage (that) was re-issued and perhaps imitated by the native chiefs in their own names.' 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' (1864) p. 692, and pl. xxxv., fig. 11.]

## XV. DIONYSIUS.

- 1.—Hemidrachma (of inferior execution, similar in its aspect to the Philopater coins of Apollodotus).

OBVERSE:—Head with fillet, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Dianisiyasa.*

Monogram (as in Apollodotus' coins), No. 60, standard type. Col. Abbott.

A second specimen gives the Σ in the name more after the form of a proper sigma. The outline of the Νι, in the Arian legend, is also modified in the duplicate coin, which, however, bears the same monogram.

- 2.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Apollo, to the right, as in Apollodotus' coins.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Tripod. Arian Legend imperfect.

Monogram No. 84, consisting of Arian letters, Ση and Δ. B.I., mon. 85. British Museum. 'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 5.

- 3.—□ Copper. Plate xlii., fig. 7. Unique.

OBVERSE:—As in No. 8, Apollodotus. No legend.

REVERSE:—Device, as represented in the plate.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Diyanisiyasa.*

Colonel Bush.

## XVI. LYSIAS.

- 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xliii., fig. 4.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, with helmet in the shape of an elephant's head: similar to the Demetrius' type.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing, to the front, as in the Demetrius' prototype.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Apaḍihātasa Lysikasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 9. Monogram 86. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 9. Monogram 87. B.I., monogram 85. Colonel Abbott. Monograms 8a, 86, 87.

- 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of the king, with the ordinary helmet.

REVERSE:—Hercules, as above. The legend varies in the Arian definition of the name, which at times exhibits the initial vowel α, and at others the letter κ, as the penultimate.

The seven specimens of this mintage that I have had an opportunity of examining all have the monogram No. 86. 'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 1.

- 3.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 12.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, to the right, head uncovered, with a club resting on the shoulder.

REVERSE:—Elephant, to the right, as in Heliocles' coins. Legend as above, the name being usually spelt with a κ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 10. 'Num. Jour.,' vii., pl. ii., 22.

Monograms Nos. 8a, 22, 88a.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Bust of the king, as in No. 3.

REVERSE :—Elephant, to the right. (*Lisiasa*.)

Monogram No. 24a.

Colonel Bush.

## LYSIAS AND ANTIALKIDES.

## 1.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Bare head of king, to the right.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΤΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE :—Caps and palm-branches of the Dioscuri.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Maharajasa Jayadharasa ANTIALIKIDASA*.

Captain Hay.

## XVII. ANTIALKIDES.

## 1.—Tetradrachma.

OBSERVE :—Bare head of king.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

REVERSE :—Jove enthroned, with a small figure of Victory in his right hand ; minute elephant in front, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Maharajasa Jayadharasa Antialikidasa*.

Monogram No. 86.

Colonel Abbott.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 12.

Monograms No. 8b, 22, 86.

## 2.—Drachma.

OBSERVE :—Head of king, with Causia.

REVERSE :—As in No. 1.

Monogram No. 31. B.I.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 2.

In some specimens the small elephant faces the seated figure.

Monograms Nos. 8b, 22, 31, 86.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 11.

## 3.—Hemidrachma.

OBSERVE :—Head, with the ordinary crested helmet.

REVERSE :—Device as usual.

Monograms 8b, 86.

'Ariana Antiqua,' No. 3, p. 277.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Bust, with uncovered head. The right hand grasps the thunderbolt.<sup>1</sup>

REVERSE :—Caps and palms of the Dioscuri.

Monograms 8, 31, 86, 87.

'Ariana Antiqua,' No 6, p. 279.

## 5.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., figs. 9, 10, 11.

Similar devices.

These two classes of coins vary occasionally in the subordinate typical details,<sup>2</sup> and the Arian definition of the name is irregular in the general series, in the interchange of the dental and cerebral *d*, as the penultimate consonant. Monograms, Nos. 8a, 22, 30 (?), 49a, 87, 87a.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham supposes this to be the head of 'Jupiter Nicephorus,' 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 874.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ex. Gr.*, 'Num. Chron.,' vii., pl. ii., fig. 21.]

## XVIII. AMYNTAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Much damaged. (Weight, 128 grs.)

OBSERVE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhđrajasa Jayadharasa Amitasa.*

British Museum. Monogram No. 20a.

'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 2.

- 2.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 1.

OBSERVE:—Head of king, to the right.

REVERSE:—Minerva armed, to the left.

Monogram No. 88.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 14.

## XIX. ARCHEBIUS.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.

OBSERVE:—Bare head.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jupiter standing to the front, with spear and thunderbolt.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhđrajasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhabiyasa.*

Monogram No. 89.

Colonel Abbott.<sup>1</sup>

- \*)—Hemidrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 1.

Similar types and legends.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 8. Monogram No. 8b.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBSERVE:—Helmeted head.

REVERSE:—As No. 1.

Monogram No. 20a.

Colonel Abbott.

- 3.—Hemidrachma.

OBSERVE:—Bust of the king with bare head, to the left, a javelin in the right hand, as in one of the common classes of Menander's coins (No. 2.)

REVERSE:—Jove (Neptune?) as above.

Monograms, No. 8a with 90.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 10.

- 4.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Victory, to the right, extending a chaplet.

REVERSE:—An owl. Monogram 89.

R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839, p. 104. 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 280.

- 5.—□ Copper. Similar devices. British Museum monograms, Nos. 89 and 89a.

'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> [I regret to say that my available notes on the typical details of Colonel Abbott's coins are very imperfect. I was greatly pressed for time on the only opportunity I had of inspecting his rich and varied collection; and, at the moment, entertained no design of publishing the result of my scrutiny; hence my memoranda refer to doubtful and difficult readings, special coincidences of design, and monogrammatic data, rather than to the *die* specifications ordinarily demanded by exact numismatic science. Further, I have to note, that my compulsory haste denied me even a bare sight of the copper series of a cabinet whose silver specimens promised so much: and, indeed, whose contents in that metal, whether in regard to discretion of selection or perfection of preservation, are unequalled by any public or private collection I have hitherto examined.]

## XX. MENANDER.

- 1.—Didrachma. (E. I. C. coin. Weight, 161·0 grs.)

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa Menadrasa.*

Monograms,  $\Sigma$  and 30. Mr. Brereton, monogram, 8b.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 13.

- \*—Hemidrachma. Plate iii., fig. 5. Same types. Monograms, 18a, 18 associated with 93 on the same field, 22c, 31, 46a repeated on the same coin, 79, 86 repeated, 86 with  $\Gamma$ , E, and  $\Sigma$ , severally associated on the same field, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 14.

- 2.—Didrachma (cast). British Museum.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the left; the right hand grasps a javelin.

REVERSE:—Minerva to the left.

Monogram 27.

- \*—Hemidrachma. Same types. Monograms, 8b, 22, 27, 31, 46, 46a, 86 with  $\Sigma$ .

- b)—Hemidrachma. Pl. xiv., fig. 1. Similar devices, but Minerva faces to the right, and the legends are arranged in one continuous circular scroll. Monograms, 27, 31a, 46.

- 3.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king with helmet, to the right.

REVERSE:—Minerva.

Lady Headfort.

- \*—Hemidrachma. Monograms, 8b, 22, 22c, 27, 31, 46a repeated, 86, with  $\Sigma$ , 91.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 15.

- 4.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the left, with helmet and javelin.

REVERSE:—Minerva.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 2.

- 5.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, as in No. 3.

REVERSE:—An owl. Monograms, 27, 31.

- 6.—□ Copper. Large coin. Weight, 550·5 grains.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of king, to the right.

REVERSE:—Horse, free. Monogram, No. 30 (?).

Mr. Brereton.

- 7.—□ Copper. Weight, 316 grains.

OBVERSE:—Bull's head, to the front.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

Monograms, 8a; another coin (in weight, 228 grs.), 8a; a third, No. 31a, with an Arian  $m$  in the field.

Mr. Brereton.

- 8.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 8. Weight, 342 grains.

OBVERSE:—Bare head, to the right.

REVERSE:—A dolphin. Monogram 30, with H on the field.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 3.

## 9.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bare head, to the left, with javelin, as in No. 2.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the right. Monograms, 27, 31, 71.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 7.

## 10.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, with palm-branch and wreath. Monograms, 27, 31, 46, 71, 93.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., figs. 5, 6.

## a) —□ Copper.

REVERSE:—Victory, to the left.

Monograms, 31a, with B. Another coin has B alone.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 4.

There are other subordinate varieties of these coins, see 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 285.

## 11.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 6.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Owl.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 8.

## 12.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Shield of Minerva. Monograms, M (?), 46, 46a.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 12.

## 13.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 9

OBVERSE:—Boar's head.

REVERSE:—Palm branch. Monogram, H.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 9.

## 14.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Club of Hercules.

Monograms, 27, associated in the several instances with the isolated letters

A Λ; 31, ditto, A Δ. Colonel Bush, Arian monogram, *San*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 10.

## 15.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Wheel.

REVERSE:—Club.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 11.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Minerva to the left, with a spear resting on her left arm—shield in front of the knee—right hand extended.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Dhramikasa Menandrasa*. British Museum.

Quoted also by Wilson, 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 217, from an imperfect coin described by M. R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 751.

## 17.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the left.

Legend imperfect, but exhibiting traces of the name of Menander:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—An ankuš (or elephant-goad).

Arian Legend imperfect:—[*Mahdra*]asa *Trada*[*tasa*] . . . .

Monogram, No. 96.

Mr. Bayley.

## XXI. STRATO.

## 1.—Didrachma. (Cast).

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of the king, to the right.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND incomplete:— . . . *Pratichasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Monogram, 20a.

Capt. Hay

## 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head, to the right.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Pratichasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Two specimens. British Museum. Monogram, No. 8a.

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Apollo, as in Apollodotus' coin, No. 7.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

E. I. H., monogram, No. 8a.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—King's bust, with club resting on his right shoulder.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ*

REVERSE:—Victory.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Monograms, No. 22c (?), 22e.

Mr. Bayley

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Type as in No. 4.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Type as in No. 4.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Dhramikasa Stratasa.*

Monogram No. 22c. British Museum. Other monograms, Nos. 22 and 22b.

## 6.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king to the right, as in the silver hemidrachmas.

LEGEND, imperfect:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Victory with (palm branch? and) chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Pratichasa (Tradatasa) Stratasa.*

Monogram 108a.?

Colonel T. Bush.

XXI<sup>a</sup>. AGATHOCLEIA

(WIFE OF STRATO)

## 1.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Female head, helmeted.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.*

REVERSE:—Hercules with club, seated.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Dhramikasa Stratasa.*

Monogram No. 22b.

Mr. Bayley.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 10.

I notice in this place, irrespective of the order of time, a series of debased derivatives from the normal type of Strato's hemidrachmas (No. 2 *supra*), which are peculiarly identified with the original mintage, not only in obvious imitation, but in

the progressive degradation of certain associate pieces bearing that monarch's name, which have been found in company with the only considerable hoard of these coins that has as yet been discovered.<sup>1</sup>

The serial class is remarkable in that, while continuing the same standard devices as the prototype, it eventually lowers the title of *Mūhārāja*, on the reverse, into that of *Satrap*; and it is further interesting in the exemplification of the speedy obscuration of the Greek legends, while the Arian writing remains well-defined and intelligible, as in the parallel instance of the money of the Śāh kings, where the local Pālī appears in the highest perfection in the presence of the meaningless repetition of Greek outlines on the obverse. In its local aspect also, this particular hoard is instructive, as, although solitary specimens of these and kindred issues may have found their way to other parts of the country, yet the collection of so many successional coins, unmixed with foreign currencies, would seem to indicate an ordinary accumulation of every-day life, either made on the spot or gathered from the circulating medium of no remote locality.

Major Cunningham, in a paper in the 'Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.' (1854, p. 679), with persevering assiduity, endeavours to reconcile the degraded Greek legends with the indigenous inscriptions on the reverse, and essays to discover owners for the names—which read but vaguely even in their Arian form—amid the Hindū dynasties of Hustināpur and Dehli.<sup>2</sup>

Passing over the progressive steps of barbarization in the jumbled Greek legends of all those coins that bear the name of Strato on the reverse, and rejecting unconditionally the claim of Major Cunningham's ΠΟΞΑ ΣΤΑΤΩΝΟΞ to any separate identity, I come to the class of pieces which bear on their obverse variously the titles of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΞ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΞ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΞ, followed by portions of a name or title which reads as PAZ and PAZIOBA. On the reverse this money exchanges the legend of *Mūhārājasa Tradatasa Stratasa* for *Chatrapasa apraticakrasa Ranjabalasa*.<sup>3</sup> Whether the PAZIOBA of the obverse legend be an imperfect attempt at a Greek rendering of the native name is of but little consequence, as we can hardly reconcile Ranjabala's humble titles on the reverse with the higher designation applied to Strato himself, or the more pompous ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΞ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, assumed by that monarch's successors, which figure indifferently in contact with and contrast to the grade of *Satrap*, to whose dignities alone the former limits his claim. In brief, the coins would merely seem to exemplify an oft-recurring phase in Indian Imperialism, where the decline of the central power encourages, and at times necessitates, the effective assertion of independence by the local rulers, however much they may avoid or delay the overt act of positive disavowal of allegiance.

The monograms on the debased coins of Strato are entered under Nos. 97 to 99. Those on Ranjabala's money are reproduced as Nos. 100 to 104.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham observes: 'The greatest number were procured at Mathura, on the Jumna, and were said to have been found in the ruins of the city, along with some rude hemidrachmas of Strato' ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vii., 1854, p. 681). I do not know how many of these mixed pieces Major Cunningham obtained on this occasion, but my native coin-collector, who gleaned part of the remainder, brought me 84 coins, more than half of which number were Strato's.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Useful Tables *infra*. Table xix. *Rijapāla*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Major Cunningham makes it *Rijabalasa*, but the better preserved coins give the suffix *sa* in full distinctness. His translation of *Apraticakra*, as 'invincible with the discus,' is satisfactory.]

<sup>4</sup> [No. 101 is interpreted by Major Cunningham as *Hasti* for *Hastināpura*, the ancient Hindu capital on the Ganges above Meerut.]



## XXII.—HIPPOSTRATUS.

## 1.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

REVERSE:—Standing figure of Demeter, with crested helmet, right hand extended, the left supports a cornucopia.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Hipostratasa.*

Monogram, No. 85.

Mr. Bayley and B.M. 'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 5.

a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monogram, No. 85.

Captain Hay.

## 2.—Didrachma. (British Museum coin, weight 139 gr.)

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Helmeted figure on horseback, to the right; horse in motion.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Mahātasa Jayātasa Hipostratasa.*

Monogram, No. 105.

Mr. Bayley, No. 105, with Arian *lo* on the field. Captain Hay, 105a with *lo*, and No. 106. M. N. (?) Col. Abbott, 38a. British Museum, No. 47c. 'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 4.

a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monogram, 105a.

Mr. Brereton.

## 3.—Didrachma. (British Museum coin; weight, 144·5 grains)

OBVERSE:—Device and legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Horseman, motionless. Legend as in No. 2.

Monogram, No. 105, with the several adjuncts of No. 106, and the detached Arian letters *lo* and *pri*. Mr. Bayley, British Museum, etc.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Apollo standing, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—A tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

Monogram, 85.

Mr. Bayley.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Jove enthroned. Legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Horse, standing, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Jayātasa Hipostratasa.*

Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., pl. fig. 9.

## XXIII. TELEPHUS.

1.—Major Cunningham has made public the only known coin of this king, ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., p. 133), which he describes as follows:—

OBVERSE:—'An ancient giant, full front, with snaky legs, which curl upwards on each side.'

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.

REVERSE:—'A draped male figure standing, to the left, his head crowned with rays, and holding in his right hand a spear; to the right, a clothed female figure, with a crescent on her head.'

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa . . . kramasa Taliphasa.*

Monogram, No. 107.

## XXIV. HERMÆUS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Plate xviii., fig. 1. (Selected British Museum coins; weight, 140 and 144 grains).

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned, right hand extended.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Hermayasa.*

Monogram, E. I. C., Nos. 17*b*, 36, 108*b*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 3.

British Museum monograms, 32*a*, 108, 108*a*, associated with 110. Mr. Brereton, 109. Colonel Bush, 108*c*.

- \*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monograms, British Museum, 21, 33*b*, 48*c*, 90*a*, 111, 112. B. I. 113. Mr. Brereton, 22*b*. Captain Hay, 114. Mr. Freeling, 53*a*.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, i. 13. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 3.

## HERMÆUS AND CALLIOPE.

- 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Male and female heads, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ.

REVERSE:—Horseman, as in Antimachus' coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*; and at the bottom, in the reverse direction, *Kaliyapaya*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 14. Capt. Robinson, Mr. Bayley, Mr. Brereton, etc., all have the same monogram, No. 108*a*.

- 3.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., figs. 2, 3, 4. Identical in type and legends with No. 1.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 4, 5, 6.

Monograms, No. 115, with Bactrian letters *lo*, and No. 115*a*, with the several Bactrian letters classed under No. 116.

- \*)—○ Copper. Small coins. Similar types.

- 4.—□ Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with curiously arranged head dress.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Horse standing to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Hermayasa.*

Monograms, 31, 109.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 7.

- \*)—Variety. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 15. Head-dress as in *Amyntas*' coin, pl. xxxii., fig. 1, monogram 109.

Extra Monograms of Hermæus:—20*b*, 24*b*, 36*a*, 38, 108*b*, with Arian letters *k*, *s*; 115*a*, with elongated downstroke of *r* (or 115*b*), associated with the Bactrian letters *trd*, *v*, *dh*, *sh*, and *n* (?); also 117 to 119 inclusive.

## XXIV\*. SU-HERMÆUS.

- 1.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., fig. 9; and pl. xxviii., fig. 10.

OBSERVE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND, imperfect:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΞ ΣΤ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing with his club resting on the ground.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanayatugasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 8, 9, etc.

These coins are usually deficient in monograms. In one case I notice the Bactrian combination No. 63 on the reverse field.

Major Cunningham conjectures these mintages to have formed a portion of the issues of Kozoula Kadphises (No xxvi.), struck during the lifetime of Hermæus.—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 709.

## XXV. MAUAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. (Weight, 151·4 grains).

OBSERVE:—Male figure, to the front; right arm extended, the left supports a spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Victory, with chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Moasa.*

Monogram, No. 38b.

British Museum, 38b. Capt. Robinson, No. 38a. Lady Sale's coin (weight, 143 grains), monogram, No. 89.

- \*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types.

Capt. Robinson, monogram 38a. Capt. Hay, No. 64.

- 2.—Didrachma.

OBSERVE:—A biga, with horses at speed. The driver wears a helmet; the chief figure holds a spear, a nimbus surrounds his head.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned, as in Hermæus' coins, with triple-pointed spear (trident?),

Monogram, No. 107a.

Capt. Robinson.

- 3.—○ Copper. Plate xiii., fig. 4.

OBSERVE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Caduceus.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 89.

British Museum. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 11.

- 4.—□ Copper (small coin).

OBSERVE:—Apollo, to the front, as in Apollodotus' coins: arrow in the right, and bow in the left hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Moasa.*

British Museum. Mr. Brereton.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Female figure, to the front, with spear; crescent above the head.  
Two six-pointed stars or constellations appear in the upper part of the field, one on each side of the figure.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΜΑΥΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Victory with chaplet, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadirajasa Mahdtasa Moasa.*

Monogram, No. 120.

British Museum, and less perfect coin B. I.

## 6.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Jove enthroned, with small figure at the side.

REVERSE:—Female figure, as on the obverse of No. 5.

Monogram, No. 120.

'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 315.

## Variety.

REVERSE:—Figure as above; but the crescent is strangely transformed, and the stars on the field are wanting.

Monogram 120.

Mr. Brereton.

7.—○ Copper.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE:—Figure clothed in skins, with nimbus.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the left.

British Museum. Monogram, No. 89.

● Monogram, No. 52.

Mr. Bayley and Capt. Robinson.

## 8.—□ Copper. Plate xliii., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Male figure, with club and trident, flowing robes, etc.

Monogram, No. 121.

REVERSE:—Victory, with loose garments (similar to the figure on the obverse), and a varied style of chaplet.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 10. Monogram, 122. B. I.  
Monogram, 123.

## 9.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

REVERSE:—Seated figure.

Monogram, No. 115*b*.

Mr. Frere.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839.

## 10.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Male figure, to the left, in flowing garments, holding a chaplet.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the right.

B. I. Monogram, 112*a*.

## 11.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Hercules to the front, with club and lion-skin, the right hand rests upon the hip.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the left.

Monogram, No. 89.

Mr. Brereton.

<sup>1</sup> [A coin of this type is engraved in Mr. H. T. Prinsep's 'Historical Results,' pl. v., fig. 1.]

## 12.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Neptune, with trident, treading upon a prostrate figure.

REVERSE :—Figure surrounded with branches.

Monogram, No. 120.

Colonel Nuthall. Mr. Brereton, and 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 314.

## 13.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Neptune, with the right foot placed on a prostrate figure as in No. 12; the left hand rests on a trident, while the right is raised in the act of hurling the thunderbolt.

REVERSE :—As in No. 12. Monogram, illegible.

Lady Elliot.

## 14.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—As No. 13, except that Neptune holds a palm-branch in the left hand in lieu of the trident.

REVERSE :—As No 13.

Monogram, a modification of No 115*b*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 15.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, with a fold of his dress flying loose behind him.

Monogram, illegible.

REVERSE :—Helmeted figure, in loose garments, moving to the right, holding a garland in the right and a spear in the left hand.

Monogram, *mi*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, with spear.

REVERSE :—Winged Victory, to the left, holding a chaplet in the right hand.

Monogram, No. 115*b*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 17.—□ Copper..

OBVERSE :—Standing male figure, to the front; right arm uplifted, in the left a club.

Monogram, No. 115*b*, with an Arian *ti*.

REVERSE :—Indian bull, to the right.

Monogram, No. 115*a*.

Mr. Bayley.

A second coin, in the possession of Mr. H. Brereton, gives the name clearly as MATOT.

## 18.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Elephant.

REVERSE :—Indian bull.

Mr. Brereton. Capt. Hay.

## XXVI. KADPHISES.

## 1.—Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 12.

OBVERSE :—Head as in the Su-Περμαeus' coins.

LEGEND :—KOPHΛO [Variety, KOPONAO] KOZOTAO KAAΔIZOT.

REVERSE :—Hercules as above.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanayatugasa*.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Arian *dh* with *r*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., figs. 10, 11.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham, in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii. of 1864, p. 709, transcribes this legend as follows :—*Kujula Kasasa Kushanga Yathagasa Dhamapidasa*.

XXVI<sup>a</sup>. KOZOLA KADAPHES.

- 1.—○ Copper small coin. Plate xviii., figs. 13, 14, 15; and pl. xxviii., figs. 13, 14.  
 OBVERSE:—Youthful head.

LEGEND:—KOZOAA KAAΔAΦEΛ XOPAN [T ZAΘOT.

REVERSE:—A Scythic figure.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Khashanasa Yauasa Kuyula [Kuyanla?] Kaphsasa Sachha dhani phidasa.*

Monogram, No. 124. Some specimens add the Bactrian letter inserted in the plate under No. 125.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., fig. 14.

XXVI<sup>b</sup>. KODES.

- 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xiii., figs. 11, 12, 13.

OBVERSE.—Barbarously executed head of king.

LEGEND.—KωΔOT.

REVERSE.—Erect figure, with flames issuing from the shoulders; the right hand rests upon a spear.

LEGEND.—PAHΘPOT MAKAP.

'Jour. des Sav.' 1834, pl. fig. 8; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 1, 2, 3, 5.

- 2.—Hemidrachma. Plate xxxii., figs. 16, 17, 18.

OBVERSE.—Head as above.

REVERSE.—Horse's head. KωΔ.

'Jour. des Sav.' 1834, pl. fig. 9. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 4, 6, 7.

## XXVII. VONONES (AND AZAS).

## CLASS A.

I understand that Major Cunningham has discovered coins with the above combination of names. The specimens are engraved in his unpublished plates, but I do not consider myself authorized to quote them in any detail beyond this notice of the interesting historical fact they suffice to substantiate.

## VONONES (AND SPALAHORES).

## CLASS B.

- 1.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE.—Azas' horseman with spear at the charge, to the right.

LEGEND:—BAΣIAEΩΣ BAΣIAEΩN MEΓAΛOT ONONOT.

REVERSE:—Jupiter with spear and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Mdhuraja Bhrata Dhramikasa Spalahorasa.*

Monogram, No. 53b.

Capt. Robinson.

- \*)—Hemidrachma. Pl. xv., fig. 5. Similar types and legends.

Monograms, 53b, 126.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 8.

The nearly parallel epigraph on Kozola Kadaphes' money is transliterated and translated thus—*Kushanga Yathaasa Kujula Kaphsasa Sachha dharmapidasa*, 'Coin of the king of the Khushang Kujala Kaphsa, the crown of the true Dharma.']

## 2.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 10.

OBVERSE:—Hercules, with club and lion's skin, right hand raised to the head.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥΤ.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the left, armed with shield and spear, right arm extended.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārāja Bhrata Dhramikasa Spalahorasa.*

Monograms, No. 126. B.I. 126a.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. ii., fig. 20. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 9.

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—As in No. 2.

REVERSE:—Device as in No. 2.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spahora Bhrata Dhramikasa Spalahorasa.*

Monogram, 126.

Mr. Brereton.

## VONONES (AND SPALAGADAMES, SON OF SPALAHORES.

## CLASS C.

## 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, with spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥΤ.

REVERSE:—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalahora Putrasa Dhramikasa Spalagadamasa*

Monograms, British Museum coin, 127. Col. Sykes, 132a. Mr. Brereton, 48c, 128, 128a.

## 2.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Hercules, as in No. 2, class B.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥΤ.

REVERSE:—

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalhora Putrasa Dhramiasa (Spala) gadamasa.*

Monogram, 128.

Mr. Brereton.

## SPALIRISES AND AZAS.

## CLASS D.

## 1.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΛΙΠΙΟΥΤ.

REVERSE:—Jove, as above.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Mahitakasa Ayasa.*

Monogram, 130.

Mr. Frere.

## \*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types.

Monogram, 129, with Bactrian letters, *si*.

Mr. Brereton.

## 2.—○ Copper. ●

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΛΙΠΙΟΥΤ.

REVERSE:—A bow and arrow.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Mahitakasa Ayasa.*

Monogram, 127b.

Mr. Bayley.

## CLASS Ca.

## XXVIII. SPALYRIOS or SPALAGADAMES (alone).

THE BROTHER OF THE KING.

- 1.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 9; pl. xxviii., fig. 6.

OBSERVE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—ΧΑΛΥΡΙΟΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΙ.

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalahora putrasa Dhramiasa Spalagadamasa.*

Monograms, Nos. 48c, 127c, 128. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 13.

## CLASS Da.

## XXIX. SPALIRISES (alone).

- 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBSERVE:—Azas' horseman; spear at the charge.

LEGEND imperfect:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑ . . . . ΠΠΑΛΙΡΙ[ου.

REVERSE:—Neptune to the front, with trident and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrājasa . . . . Spalirīśasa.*

Monogram, 48c.

Capt. Hay.

- 2.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 6; pl. xxviii., fig. 7.

OBSERVE:—Female figure, to the left.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΠΠΑΛΙΡΙΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Māhātākasa Spalirīśasa.*

Monograms, Nos. 131, 131a, and 131b.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 12.

## XXX. AZAS.

- 1.—Didrachma.

OBSERVE.—The standard Azas' type of horseman, to the right; the spear point slightly depressed

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΑΖΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Female figure, with palm-branch in the left, and a four-pointed object in the right hand, somewhat after the nature of the Scythian monograms, No. 169, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Rajarājasa Mahātasa Ayasa.*Monogram, Captain Robinson, 132, with Arian letters, *mi*.'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 12. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, ii., 16, monogram, 133 with *san*.

- a).—Hemidrachmas.

Monograms, No. 133, with Arian letters *bh* and *dh*; No. 133, with the word *san*; No. 38a, with severally 53b and an Arian *t*; No. 38a, with a Greek A and an Arian *t*; No. 38a, with an Arian *t* alone; No. 134, with an Arian *ei*; No. 134, with *dh* and *mi*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 18.

- 2.—Didrachma.

OBSERVE:—Horseman, as above.

REVERSE:—Minerva Promachos, to the left.

Monograms 85; 85, with Arian *s* on obverse; 85 simple with 132; 133, with the Arian word *san*, and No. 63a.



## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monograms, British Museum, 85 ; Captain Robinson, 85 simple with 132.

## 3.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above.

REVERSE :—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

Monograms, Capt. Robinson, 132*a* with *bh*. British Museum, 132*a* with *dh*.

## 4.—Variety of No. 3. Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above, with the Arian letters *Pr* below the horse.

REVERSE :—Jove, with the spear or sceptre, triple-pointed, the points diverging from one centre ; nimbus encircles the head.

Monogram, No. 85.

## 5.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE :—As above.

Monogram, Arian letters *hi*.

REVERSE :—Jove, with triple-pointed sceptre ; but the right hand is elevated in the act of throwing the thunderbolt.

Monograms, No. 85*a*, with an Arian *a*.

Captain Robinson.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Variant

OBVERSE :—As above.

REVERSE :—Jupiter rayed, to the front, leaning on a spear ; the bolts are held in the right hand low down.

Monogram, No. 135.

Captain Robinson

## 6.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—The Azas' horseman, to the right, without the spear, the right hand of the figure is extended above the horse's head.

Monogram, an Arian *s*.

REVERSE :—Minerva, to the right, helmeted and armed with buckler, right hand extended.

Monograms, Captain Robinson, 52, with *a*. Lady Elliot, double monogram, 138 and 139, without the Bactrian adjunct of the latter. Mr Carne's collection, monogram, No. 141, with the several Arian letters *san*, *si*, *pi*, or *dh*.

## (6).—Variety.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand and bow behind the saddle.

REVERSE :—As in No. 6.

Monogram, 85 simple, with 133*b*.

## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monogram 85.

Mr. Bayley.

## b).—Variety.

REVERSE :—Minerva, to the left.

Monograms, obverse, Arian *so* ; reverse, 85.

Mr. Brereton.

## 7.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 17 (?).

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand, bow at the back of the saddle.

REVERSE:—Standing figure, with spear, holding a small statue of Victory.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., figs. 15, 16 (?), 17.

British Museum, monograms, 38*a* with 53, and Arian letters *t*, *bu*, *dh*, etc.; others, with *t*, omit No. 53. B.I., monogram, obverse, Arian *ji*; reverse, 134*a* associated with 53*b* and 63; a second, reverse, No. 42 with 136, and an Arian *dh*. Mr. Brereton, obverse, monogram, *san*; reverse, as in the first cited B.I. coin.

## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monograms, No. 137, with *san*; a second; No. 138, with *dh* and *s*. Lady Elliot. Mr. Brereton, 38*a* with Arian *t*; a second, obverse, Arian *s*; reverse, 38*a* with 139.

## 8.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 15.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above.

Monogram, Arian *ti*.

REVERSE:—Minerva, with spear, to the right; bare head, and right arm extended.

Monogram, 85 simple with 133*a*. B.I., obverse, monogram, Arian *ti*; reverse, 85*b* with 133*b*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 13.

## (8).—Variety. Billon.

REVERSE:—Similar figure, with triple-pointed spear.

Monogram, Arian *si* and 134*b*.

## 9.—Didrachma. Billon. Plate xvii., fig. 16.

OBVERSE.—As above.

REVERSE.—Neptune, with trident, to the front.

Monogram, No. 140, with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 14.

## 10.—Hemidrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 18.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above, with bow and whip.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the front, armed with spear and shield, the right arm upraised.

Monograms 135*a*, with *sh*; 135*b* and Arian monogram 142, *sa shi*? 135*b* with 39*a*. Another: obverse, monogram *a*; reverse, 140*a*, with an indistinct symbol like 132. Miscellaneous obverse, mint-marks Arian letters *s*, *l*, *g*, and *sd*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 19.

## 11.—Drachma.

OBVERSE.—King, standing, to the left; right hand extended, and oped spear on his left shoulder.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out a chaplet.

Monogram, No. 64.

## 10.—□ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 14.

OBVERSE:—Neptune, treading on a prostrate figure. Legend as above.

REVERSE:—Female figure, surrounded by branches. Legend as above.

Monogram, No. 64.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 5.

Mr. Brereton has a superstruck piece of this class, offering the peculiarity in that the obverse legend exhibits portions of the epigraph of two distinct dies: it may be represented in its present state thus—ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΑΖΟΥ.<sup>1</sup>

11.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—King, riding on a Bactrian camel.

REVERSE:—Thibetan yák (or long-haired bull).

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 6.

12.—□ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 9.

OBVERSE:—King on horseback, with spear sloped.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

Monograms, No. 85; 85 simple, with *t*, and the four variants classed under 'No. 143. Another obverse, *san*; reverse, 134 with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 12.

13.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 8.

OBVERSE:—Hercules, to the front, with chaplet upraised in his right hand, and club in the left, after the manner of the reverse devices of Demetrius.

Monogram, 536.

REVERSE:—Horse, free, to the right.

Monogram, *mi*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 7.

14.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., figs. 4, 5.

OBVERSE.—Elephant, to the right.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

Monograms, Nos. 52 with Arian *a*; 85; 85 simple with 142*a*; 85 simple with 132.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 10.

15.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., figs. 1, 2, 3.

OBVERSE.—Humped bull, to the right.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mūhūrajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*.

Monograms, 132 with 145*a*, 135*a* with 39*a*, 135*t* with 39*a*, 143*b* with 39*a*, 144 with 138, 145 with 138, 145 with 146, 135*b* with 142, 85*b* with 133, 134*b* with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 8.

<sup>a</sup>)—Small coins. Similar types.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 9.

<sup>b</sup>)—□ (?) 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 3. Monogram, *a*. Rev. monogram, *pr*.

16.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 10.

OBVERSE:—Demeter, seated on a throne.

REVERSE:—Hermes, standing.

Arian legend as in No. 1.

Most common monogram, No. 135*b* associated with 142.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 12.

<sup>1</sup> [Some months ago (1867) Mr. Bayley read an interesting paper, on the subject of the superstruck coins of Azes, at one of the meetings of the Numismatic Society.]

- 17.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 12.  
 OBERSE :—Figure, seated cross-legged.  
 REVERSE :—Hermes, standing.  
 ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 15.  
 Monograms, the combinations entered in plate xii. from No. 147 to 153.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., figs. 13, 14.
- \* )—Small coins, ditto. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 15.
- 18.—○ Copper.  
 OBERSE :—Female figure, clothed in Indian garments, standing to the front ;  
 the right arm is raised towards the head, and the left hand rests  
 upon the hip.  
 REVERSE :—Humped bull, to the right.  
 Mr. Brereton, monogram 154. Mr. Bayley, monograms indistinct.
- 19.—○ Copper.  
 OBERSE .—A lion, sejant. \*  
 LEGEND, blundered and unintelligible.  
 REVERSE :—Rude figure of Demeter, seated.  
 ARIAN LEGEND.—*Maharajasa . . . . . Ayasa.*  
 Monogram, No. 31a, with *ti*. Mr. Bayley.
- 20.—○ Copper. Minute coin. Types similar to No. 7.  
 Monograms, Obv. No. 155, and *mi*. Rev. No. 38a and *san*. Mr. Bayley.
- 21.—○ Copper. Types similar to □ Copper, No. 12.  
 Monogram 85. Mr. Brereton.
- 22.—□ Copper.  
 OBERSE —King on horseback, with the right hand extended.  
 Monogram 124a.  
 REVERSE .—Indian lion to the right.  
 ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect :—*Maharajasa Mahatasa . . . Ayasa.*  
 Monogram indistinct. Col. T. Bush.
- 23.—○ Copper.  
 OBERSE :—Azas' horseman with whip and bow  
 Monogram, 167.  
 REVERSE :—Minerva, to the right ; with sloped spear and right hand extended.  
 ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 15.  
 Monograms, group 158.
- 24.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 22.  
 OBERSE :—Horseman, with right hand raised.  
 Monogram 124a.  
 REVERSE :—Demeter, standing, to the front ; right arm extended, the left sup-  
 ports the cornucopia.  
 ARIAN LEGEND :—*Maharajasa Mahatasa Dhramikasa Rajadirajasa Ayasa.*  
 Monograms, No. 156, 156 with *dh*, 156a, 156b, 156c, with variants of mis-  
 cellaneous Bactrian letters on the field.

## 25.—Plate ii., figs. 11, 12.

OBSERVE :—Indian lion, to the right.

REVERSE :—Demeter, standing, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa.*

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 876.

## SUB-AZAS (ASPAVARMA).

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Azas' horseman, with right hand holding a whip.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 157 (*Agaj*?).

REVERSE :—Minerva, helmeted, with spear and shield, to the right; the right hand supports a small figure of Victory.

ARIAN LEGEND.<sup>1</sup>—*Indra Varma Putrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa Jayatasa* (General Aspavarma, son of Indra Varma, the victorious).

Monograms, No. 159, with 132, and the several Arian letters entered in the plate under No. 160.

As this catalogue does not profess to follow any authoritative serial distribution of the monarchs comprehended in the general list, I insert in this place, as most suitable, in obedience to typical order, certain obvious derivatives from the standard devices of Azas' mintages, which bear exclusively the names and titles of Satraps who may be supposed to have succeeded to the possession of local divisions of his once extensive dominions, but who refrained from arrogating to themselves the style and dignity of absolute monarchy.

## ZEIONISAS.

## 1.—Didrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 5.

OBSERVE :—Azas' horseman, with right hand extended, and bow at the back of the saddle.

LEGEND illegible. Monogram 159.

REVERSE :—King, standing, to the front; supported by two figures in the act of placing a chaplet on his head.

ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect at the bottom :—*Jihoniasa.*

Monogram 161.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839, p. 102. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 17.

Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.,' 1854, pl. xxxv., fig. 1.

## 2.—Hemidrachma. Unique.

OBSERVE :—Horseman as above.

LEGEND, corrupt :—ΟΝΝΗΛΑΙΤ ΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΡΑΝ ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΤ.

Monogram 159.

REVERSE :—Standing figure of the king receiving a chaplet from Demeter?

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Manigulasa Chatrapasa Putrasa, Ohatrapasa Jihoniasa.*

Monogram, No. 162.

Mr. Bayley. See also Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pl. xxxv., fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> [Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 696. *Strategas* is identified with the Greek *στρατηγος*.]

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

LEGEND, corrupt and imperfect:—ΤΙ:ΑΙΤ ΤΥΤ ΛΑΤΡΑΠ.

Monogram, No. 169, with *san*.

ARIAN LEGEND:— . . . *gula Putrasa Chatrapasa JIHANATASA.*

Monogram 163.

British Museum, two coins, from Major Cunningham's collection.

## 4.—□ Copper. Unique. Plate xlii., fig. 8.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

LEGEND, corrupt and imperfect:—ΑΗΙΖΙΟΑΔΙ . . . . . ΖΣΙΩΝΙΣ.

Monogram, ρ.

REVERSE:—Bull, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Mani* . . . . . (Ji)*haneasa.*

Monogram as in the plate.

Col. T. Bush.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND, imperfect. Combination obtained from six specimens gives no more satisfactory result than the following:—ΓΑΤΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΧΑΡΑΝΩΣ

A - ΕΙΣΑ.

Monogram indeterminate.

REVERSE.—*Sinha*, or Indian lion, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND, likewise imperfect and incomplete:—*Chatrapasa Bhata Daophasa Akasa Putrasa.*

Monograms, *pra*, X, etc.

'*Ariana Antiqua*,' pl. viii., fig. 2; and Cunningham, '*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*,' 1854, p. 695.

## XXXI. AZILISAS.

## 1.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 27.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, with spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΑΖΙΛΙΕΟΤ.

Monogram, *ti*.

REVERSE:—Figure, to the left, holding the four-pointed object in the right, and palm-branch in the left hand.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayileshasa.*

Monograms, British Museum, 133 with *san* and *bh*; ditto, 134 with *si*.

British Museum monogram, Σ with *si* and *g*. Capt. Robinson, monogram 134 with *si* and *s*. B. I. Miscellaneous Arian letters, *san*, *si*, *bh*, *dh*, with *ti*, and A with *san*.

'*Ariana Antiqua*,' pl. viii., fig. 5.

\*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. British Museum monogram, 132*a*, with *i*. Capt. Robinson, monogram Σ, with an Arian *h*.

## 2.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE as above, with Arian letter *s* in the field.

REVERSE:—Female figure, to the left, with chaplet and palm-branch.

Monogram, No. 77.

'*Ariana Antiqua*,' pl. viii., fig. 6.

## 3.—Didrachma. (145 grs.)

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman, to the right, with whip and the bow fixed behind the saddle.

Monogram, No. 137.

REVERSE :—Dioscuri, standing to the front, leaning on their spears.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Mdhārājasa Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Mr. Bayley. Col. Nuthall, Obv. monogram, 137 with *b*, and Rev. 164.

## 4.—Didrachma. (142 grs.)

OBVERSE as No. 3.

Monogram, 137*a*.

REVERSE :—Single figure, bearded, clothed in skins, to the front; the right hand grasps a spear, the left rests upon the sword hilt.

Monogram, No. 165.

Mr. Bayley. Mr. C. M'Leod.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Standing figure, to the front (indistinct), with right arm extended, and mantle on the left.

Monogram, 30*a*.

REVERSE :—Lion, as in Azas' coins.

Monogram, No. 166. A second coin has *mi* (?)

Mr. Bayley. Capt. Robinson.

## 6.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman, with spear sloped downwards.

REVERSE :—Bull, to the left. Arian legend as in No. 1.

British Museum monogram, 132 with *mi*, and traces of monogram 125*a*.

## \*)—Plate xvii., fig. 28

REVERSE :—Bull, to the right.

## 7.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman.

REVERSE :—Elephant.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Mdhārājasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Monogram, variety of No. 124, with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 7.

## 8.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Horseman.

REVERSE :—Hercules, seated, with club, and as in Spalyrios' coins. (C *a*.)

ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 7.

Monogram, No. 134.

Mr. Bayley.

And a second piece, 167. Ordinary monogram, No. 134, with Arian *s*, *si*, or *ti*.

## 9.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Standing figure, to the right, with the right arm extended horizontally, and holding a chaplet.

REVERSE :—Figure in short tunic, with loose veil-like garments around the head, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect :— . . . *jasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Mr. Bayley.

## XXXII. SOTER MEGAS.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with crested helmet, to the left; the right hand holds an arrow.

Monogram, No. 168, with the Arian letters *ti*, in front of the profile.

REVERSE:—Azas' type of horseman, elevating a small object like a cross.

LEGEND:—BACIAEV BACIAEVΩN CΩTHP METAC.

Monogram, No. 168.

Mr. Bayley.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 8, 10.

## 2.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 26.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with rayed head; the right hand holds either a javelin with pennons, or a simple dart.

Monogram, No. 168.

REVERSE:—As above.

Monogram, No. 168.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 11 to 19.

There are numerous subordinate varieties of this type of coin, which it is needless to particularize in this place. But I may notice that the degraded Greek sigmas, which have heretofore usually been rendered by a square  $\Sigma$ , are, in these mintages, indifferently interchanged with the equally debased C on the different specimens.

## 3.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 23.

OBVERSE:—King on horseback, to the right.

LEGEND.—BACIAEV BACIAEVΩN CΩTHP METAC.

REVERSE.—A male figure, with flat helmet and fillet, casting incense upon a small altar.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Maharajasa Rajadi: rjasa Mahatasa Tradatasa.*

Monogram, *ti*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 20, 21, 22.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head, with fillet, to the right.

Monogram, No. 168.

REVERSE:—Standing figure, to the left, holding a staff or spear in the left hand, and what may possibly be intended for the thunderbolt in the right.

GREEK LEGEND (imperfect).

Mr. Bayley.

XXXII<sup>a</sup>. KADPHISES.

## 1.—Gold. Unique.

OBVERSE.—King, seated after the Oriental fashion (cross-legged) on clouds. He holds a club in his hand, and small flames ascend from his shoulders; he wears a Scythic cap surmounted by a single-centred trident.

LEGEND.—BACIAETC OOHMO KAAΦICHC.

Monogram, 169.

REVERSE.—Siva and his bull (Nandi); flames rise from the divinity's head; he holds a trident in his right hand.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Maharajasa Rajadirajasa sarvaloga Inastasa Mahimastasa hapinasasa.*

Monogram, 159.

Captain Robinson.



## 2.—Gold.

OBVERSE:—King, seated on an Eastern throne, with a flower in his right hand.  
Legend and monogram as above.

REVERSE:—Device as No. 1.

Monogram, ditto.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 7. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. x., fig. 5,  
and pl. xxi., fig. 17.

I do not propose to enter into any detail of the coins of Kadphises in this place, as they scarcely belong to the Bactrian series. It will be sufficient to refer to the types already figured and described by Prinsep,<sup>1</sup> and the additional specimens engraved in the 'Ariana Antiqua.'<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that these and other Indo-Scythian coins are known only in gold and copper, the single supposed silver specimen in the E.I.H.<sup>3</sup> having proved to be of copper plated over!

XXXIII. GONDOPHARES.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.—○ Copper. Plate xliii., fig. 15.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, to the right.

LEGEND:—BACIAEΩC BACIAEΩN ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 170.

REVERSE:—Figure, with trident.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārāja Rajarāja Mahatasa Gadapharasa.*<sup>5</sup>

British Museum coin. Monogram, No. 171.

'Ariana Antiqua' (billon coin), pl. v., fig. 16.

<sup>1</sup> [Pl. viii., fig. 4; pl. xxii., figs. 1, 2, 3.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. x., figs. 7 to 21.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., fig. 9.]

<sup>4</sup> [An enquiry of considerable interest has been raised with reference to the name preserved on these coins, so long veiled from European intelligence, in virtue of the almost literal identity it bears to the designation of the king mentioned, in certain old church legends, as the ruling potentate of India at the period of the mission of St. Thomas the Apostle. The coincidence in the appellation is certainly remarkable, though there is a defect in the primary authority for the statement, a difficulty in regard to the correspondence of the site of the kingdom, and a doubt as to the needful accordance of the epochs of the legendary and the numismatically-certified monarchs, the latter of whom seems to belong to a date prior to our era; but, for the reconciliation of this last obstacle, there is a fairly open margin afforded by the successional coins, which in themselves suggest the question as to whether the name of Gondophares was not posthumously elevated into the rank of a dynastic title. The following heads of sentences will indicate the leading combinations deposited to by the 'Legenda Aurea,' p. 33:—'Thomas apostolus cum esset apud Casaream, apparuit ei dominus dicens: rex Indiæ Gundoferus, etc., p. 35. Post hæc autem apostolus et Abbates ad regem Indiæ pervenerunt . . . Gad frater regis, etc., p. 37. Post hoc autem in superiorem Indiam abiit'.—'Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea.' Dresden, 1846. Cf. also 'Lombardica Historia' (1490), Kercher; pp. 122 and 91 severally of the French and Latin editions of his 'China,' etc.; also Assemain's erudite rectifications, pp. 30 and 591, vol. iii. (2nd part).]

<sup>5</sup> [The Arian orthography of this name varies considerably, not only in the different mintages of diverse types, but even in pieces having similar standard devices: among the latter, belonging to class No. 1, I note *Gandaphrata*—*Gudupha*, etc.]

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—As above.

LEGEND:—ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ ΤΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Minerva, armed, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārāja Rajadīrāja Trādātā . . . Gadapharasa.*

Monogram, No. 134c with 172.

Mr. Brereton. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 17.

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—As above.

REVERSE:—Male figure, with spear, to the right.

Monograms, No. 134c with 173 (*t* and *phre*), No. 171 with 155a.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 18.

## 4.—□ Copper. (Type as in pl. xxviii., fig. 15; and pl. xxxii., fig. 14).

OBVERSE:—King, on horseback; to his front is seen Victory, presenting a chaplet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑCΙΑΕΩ . . . . ΦΑΡΟΤ (?). ['Ariana Antiqua' coin, ΦΑΡΟΤ  
μεΓΑΛΟΤ ΓΟΝΔΑ.]

REVERSE:—Centre device, the monogram figured under No. 170, pl. xid.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhā . . . Dhaga . . . sa Apratihātasa Ja . . . sa  
Gudapharasa.*

Monograms, Arian letters, No. 63 and *san*.

Mr. Bayley. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 16.

5.—○ Copper.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE.—Head of king, to the left; the contour similar to the Pakores' busts.

LEGENDS imperfect. B. B., etc.

REVERSE:—Victory, with chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Rajadīrājasa Mahātasa Gudaphara . . . .*

Monogram, *gu*, and an indistinct Arian letter. Mr. Bayley.

## 6.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., figs. 5-8.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right, greatly barbarised. [ΤΗΡΟC ΤΝΔΟΦΕΡΡ.]

REVERSE:—Victory, as in No. 5.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Godapha . sa Trādātasa.*

Mr. Brereton.

## 7.—○ Copper. Small barbaric coin.

OBVERSE:—Rude filleted head, to the right.

Abbreviated Greek legend, ΒΑCΙ ΒΑC . . . Τ.

REVERSE:—Rude figure of Thessalian Minerva, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadīrājasa Mahātasa Godapharasa.*

Monogram, Arian *stri* and *hd* or *ho*.

## XXXIV. ABDALGASES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—King's bust to the right, as in the Pakores' type.

LEGEND:— . . . ΙΑΕΩC ΚΩΤΗΡΟC Α . . . .

REVERSE.—Figure of Victory, to the right (of good execution).

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Trādātasa Māhārājasa Abdagāsasa.*

Mr. Brereton.

<sup>1</sup> [There is an interesting coin in the British Museum, brought from India by Captain Hollings, typically connected with the above, which deserves mention in this place.—○ Copper. *Obv.*—Bust of king to the left, wearing the Parthian tiara. Imperfect legend, in corrupt Greek, ΒΑCΙΑΕΤ. *Rev.*—Figure of Victory, as in No. 6. Greek

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman, to the right, with flat cap and flowing fillet; hand upraised.

LEGEND, corrupt :—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΤ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΤ*.

Monogram, 170.

A coin in the B. I. gives the name *ΑΒΑΑΓΑΣΟΤ*. Rev. monogram, 39b with 174b, etc.

REVERSE :—Erect figure, to the right; head-dress as on the obverse, with spear, hand extended.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Godophara Bhrada Putrasa Māhārājasa Abdagāsasa*.

[Coin] 'of Gondophara's brother's son, Māhārāja Abdagases.'

Capt. Robinson, 39b with Arian monogram, No. 174 (*Sakre* or *Saphre*).

Some of the coins of this series modify the obverse legend. It is usually in corrupt and bungled Greek, and difficult to make sense of; but it clearly accords with the substance conveyed in the Arian legend above transcribed, in defining the nepot<sup>al</sup> relationship of Abdalgases. A collation of three specimens (B. I.) produces the following imperfect version—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΤΑ ΑΒΔΑΓΥΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΤ*. The Reverse legend is also uncertain in the different specimens, adding, at times, the titles of *Tradutasa* and *Dhramiasa* after the Māhārāja Monogram, 176.

## 3.—○ Copper. Similar types.

LEGENDS, imperfect [*ΙΟΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙ*] with the addition of the title of *Tradutasa* before the name on the reverse. Mr. Brereton.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE.—Horseman, to the left.

REVERSE.—Figure as in No. 1, without the cap. Major Cunningham.

\*)—Small coin. Mr. Bayley.

## 5.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—As No. 2. Monogram, No. 145 with *t*.

REVERSE :—Erect figure, holding a small statue of Victory, to the left.

Monogram, No. 134c, with Greek *ΔΡ* and Bactrian *t*. Mr. Bayley.

## SUB-ABDAGASES SASAN.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as in No. 2. Legend imperfect.

Monogram, No. 170, with *p*. My 'Cabinet,' 170, and *b*.

REVERSE.—Figure as above, No. 2.

ARIAN LEGEND.—*Māhārājasa Mahatasa Tradatasa* . . . . .<sup>1</sup> *Godaphrasa Sasasa*.

Monogram, No. 159, with *γ* and small letters, *p*, *sh*, etc, in the field. Mr. Bayley, *p*, *pi*, etc. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 20.

legend imperfect, but the name or title reads clearly *CANABAPOT*. Cf. *Ælii Spartiani*—*Lugduni Bat.* MDCLXI, p. 23; and Kercher, pp. 80, French edit., 59, Latin edit. *Psummosires*?

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham renders the doubtful word here omitted as *Deva-hadasa* (Sanskrit, *देव हृद्य Deva-hridya*), God-hearted, *Θεορπος*. 'Jour. A. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 713.]

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman.

REVERSE :—Jupiter, holding a figure of Victory, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārājasa Saccha Dha* (*mapidasa*) *Sasasa* [Cunningham].

Monogram, No. 134c, with Greek ΔΡ and Arian t.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 19, 20.

## XXXV. ARSACES.

I extract the following notice of the coins of Arsaces from Major Cunningham's paper in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., 1842, p. 135.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—A horseman, to the right.

LEGEND :—BACIAΣVONTOC BACIAΣΩN ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΤ.

REVERSE :—Type obliterated.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārājasa Rujarājasa Mahatasa Ashshakasa Tradatasa*.

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—A horseman, to the right.

LEGEND, imperfect ;—BAΣI . . OT APΣAKOT.

REVERSE :—Male figure, to the left, holding a small figure in his right hand.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārājara* . . . A (*shshakasa*).

## XXXVI. PAKORES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Bearded head, to the left ; the hair is elaborately curled and arranged after the Persian fashion.

LEGEND :—BACIAETC BACIAEW ΠAKOPHC.

REVERSE :—Victory with chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārājasa Rajadrajasa Mahatasa Pakurasa*.

Monograms, Nos. 177, 178, composed of Bactrian letters, with the additional foot-stroke peculiar to the style of writing in use on these coins.

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., pl. fig. 11.

## XXXVIII. ORTHAGNES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Head of king, to the left ; the hair is arranged after the Persian fashion on the Pakores' device.

LEGEND (corrupt) :—BACIAETC BACIAEW METAC OΠΘAΓNH.

REVERSE :—Victory, to the right, holding out a fillet

LEGEND (imperfect) :—(*Māhārājasa* ?) *Mahatasa Gudupharasa* . . .

British Museum. Bactrian monograms, *gu* and *go*.

## COINS AND RELICS FROM BACTRIA.

[Article XXI. completes the series of James Prinsep's original essays. The subjoined paper by his brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, is reproduced from the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' December, 1838, as introductory to, and partially illustrative of, my author's latest artistic contribution to Indian numismatics,—an engraving which he himself was not spared to comment on in the text of the Journal for whose pages it was designed.<sup>1</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> [The severance of this connexion, at the time deemed only temporary, is recorded in the subjoined proceeding of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal,' which, however intentionally complimentary, does but scant justice to the position James Prinsep achieved for the Society itself, in association with the journal of which he is here recognised as the editor]:—

Extract from the proceedings of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal,' Wednesday evening, the 14th November, 1838. The Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, President, in the chair.—Before proceeding to the general business of the meeting, the President rose and stated that he held in his hand a letter from the Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep, the substance of which must be a source of deep regret to every member of the Society, for every one must feel the loss the Society had suffered in the departure of its Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep. He assured the meeting, however, and he spoke on the authority of a conversation he had with Mr. Prinsep, before his departure, that this gentleman's absence from India would be but for a short period, and that on his return he would be ready to take the same interest, and to display the same zeal and anxiety, which had so honorably distinguished his discharge of the important duties he had undertaken in connexion with the Society. The President said that the objects of the Society had, under Mr. Prinsep's able superintendence, been prosecuted with a vigour which had added largely to its credit and reputation; and that the results produced in every department of science and literature, for which the Society was indebted chiefly to its Secretary's activity and varied powers, had sustained its character in a manner rivalling the periods when it derived renown from the labours of a Jones, a Colebrooke, and a Wilson. The President took occasion to add, that, in the time of Mr. James Prinsep, and on his proposition, the name of the Society had been associated with a monthly periodical, established by the late Captain Herbert, originally under the name of 'Gleanings in Science.' The work was afterwards extended and ably conducted by Mr. Prinsep himself; and at his suggestion it was resolved, in 1831, that so long as this periodical should be conducted by a Secretary of the Society, it should bear the title of 'Journal of the Asiatic Society;' under that name it had been since continued by Mr. Prinsep with very distinguished success to the present day. The Society had no property in the 'Journal,' and no right to prevent Mr. Prinsep from separating it again from the Society, and conducting it on his own account; but he had no such intention. He (Sir E. Ryan) had ascertained that Mr. James Prinsep had made arrangements for its being continued to the end of the present year from materials in hand; and after that he meant that *his* series should be closed; but he had no objection to the Society's continuing the periodical by the same name, under other management, as a concern quite inde-

It has been already announced in the pages of this Journal, that the extensive collections of coins and other relics made by Mr. Masson, by Sir Alexander Burnes, and Dr. Lord, were on their way to Calcutta, and were likely to fall shortly under the examination of the Editor. He felt it as a great compliment that was paid to his efforts to restore the lost portions of Indian and Bactrian history by means of the coins and inscriptions still extant in the language and with the superscriptions and dates of the rajas of those times, that collectors in all parts of India were in the habit of submitting to his inspection whatever they lighted upon as unusual, and sought his reading and interpretation of the legends, emblems, and inscriptions, which baffled the learning and ingenuity of the pandits and antiquarians of the vicinity. As a consequence of the happy discoveries made by him in this line, coins and transcripts of inscriptions came in from all quarters, from Assam and Ava to Bokhara and Sindh, and from Ceylon northward to Nepal. The possession of the rich store of materials thus accumulated gave facilities

pendent. Now, he (the President) believed that all the members of the Society would regret exceedingly that a periodical so established, and which had acquired such credit and consideration, should be discontinued. He trusted that it would be resumed by Mr. J. Prinsep himself when he returned to India; but, in the meantime, he should submit to the meeting the propriety of taking into consideration the possibility of making some arrangement to carry it on during Mr. Prinsep's absence. Having premised thus much, the President stated that he should read to the meeting Mr. James Prinsep's letter, placing the situation of Secretary at their disposal: but, as he had no doubt it would be the unanimous feeling of the meeting to desire to retain Mr. Prinsep in official connection with the Society, he should not consider this letter as an absolute resignation, but should propose a resolution, and submit arrangements founded upon it, which would enable Mr. Prinsep to resume the office on his return to India. The President then read the following letter:—

*To the Hon. Sir EDWARD RYAN, Kt., President of the Asiatic Society.*

HON. SIR,

Being compelled by ill-health to proceed to sea and eventually to Europe, I have taken my passage on board the 'Herefordshire,' with the intention of being absent from the country for two or perhaps three years. I am thus under the necessity of placing at the disposal of the Society the situation of its Secretary, which I have filled for five years.

It is with great reluctance and regret that I thus separate myself from a body with whom I have been associated in labours of much interest and utility, whose favour has encouraged my zeal, and through whose credit and reputation in the world I have obtained the means of making generally known my own humble efforts in the cause of science, and my not unsuccessful endeavours to explore the antiquities of the country to whose service we are devoted.

But the disability of sickness is an accident to which we are all liable, and from which there is no resource, but in temporary departure to a better climate. I am thus compelled to leave my incomplete labours to be perfected by others, and to relinquish the place I have held in the Society, that provision may be made for its competent discharge under the failure of my own power of longer rendering useful service.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed)

JAMES PRINSEP.

1st November, 1838.

Proposed by the President, seconded by Mr. Curnin, and unanimously resolved: That the resignation of Mr. James Prinsep be not accepted; but the Society hope that he will return to resume the situation of Secretary, which he had filled so much to the credit of the Society for a period of five years.—Resolved: That the President communicate to Mr. James Prinsep the desire of the Society, that he shall not consider himself as having vacated the situation of Secretary; and express the hope that, on his return to India, he will resume the situation of Secretary.

of comparison and collation which were doubtless a main cause of his success; but the study and exertions required for the satisfaction of these numerous references to his individual skill, although entered upon with a zeal participated only by those who have achieved much, and feel that there is yet more within their reach which ought to be the result of their own discoveries, were too severe for the climate of India, and the Editor's robust constitution sunk at last under the incessant labour and close attention given to these favorite studies at the very moment when the richest collection of inscriptions, coins, and relics, that had ever been got together in India, were actually on their way to Calcutta, as materials for maturing the results he had achieved. The collections of Mr. Masson were forwarded from Bombay in the *John Adam*, which reached Calcutta only in the course of the past December. There are of these coins from four to six thousand, besides the contents of several topes, and casts of figures of Budh, with various other remains of the period antecedent to the Muhammadan invasion of Bactria and Afghanistan. The whole of this collection was by order of Government laid upon the table of the Asiatic Society at the meeting of January, 1839; but the members present felt that, in the absence of their late Secretary, and likewise of Capt. Cunningham, Mr. V. Tregear, and Colonel Stacy, there were no persons in Calcutta to whom the examination, arrangement, and report upon the coins and relics could be committed with confidence. They came therefore to the unanimous resolution to recommend their being forwarded without delay to England, where the Honorable Court would have the opportunity of submitting them to the inspection of the late Secretary of the Asiatic Society, jointly with Dr. Wilson, the librarian at the East India House, and so the ends of science and of antiquarian research would be most effectually answered.

The care of this magnificent collection, which is large enough to supply all the museums in Europe, has been kindly undertaken by Mr. Cracroft, a very zealous member of the Asiatic Society, and there is ground for hoping that under his superintendence a catalogue may yet be made before he takes his final departure for England. The articles have come round in bags without any separate lists, and in one bag there are about two thousand copper coins.

But, independently of Mr. Masson's collection, another numbered by thousands has been brought to Calcutta by Dr. McLeod, the Inspector General of Hospitals to Her Majesty's forces in India. This consists partly of coins of all metals, but there are also several seals and gems of different stones cut with a great variety of emblems and devices. All these are the property of Sir A. Burnes, and have arrived

for deposit and custody as well as for inspection; they are therefore still available for the curious, and will continue so until Sir A. Burnes shall send instructions as to their disposal. We cannot ourselves undertake the particular examination of these relics so as to give the detailed description they deserve. A selection from the coins had, however, previously been made at Simla, and those deemed most curious being forwarded by the dawk arrived fortunately before the departure of our Editor. Amongst them is that most curious coin of Dr. Lord, with the head of Eucratides on one side, and of both his parents on the other, a drawing of which is exhibited in plate xlii. From the other selected coins thus transmitted, a plate was prepared by the Editor, which was intended to be illustrative of an article he designed giving in our last October number. The plate remains, and we attach it to this article, that the curious who have followed our Editor to the length of his past researches may see the objects which he deemed worthy of fresh illustration in the field of Indo-Bactrian numismatology. If the 'Herefordshire,' the ship in which he took passage, had touched at Madras, or had put into Mauritius, or had met a vessel at sea, we might have hoped for the comments promised on this, as on two other plates which we also intend to give, and shall separately refer to. But the time approaches when the issue of the last number of our series will be expected, and we can no longer defer the publication, under the doubtful expectation of receiving the desiderated paper from the Cape of Good Hope. Of the coins and gems therefore in Sir Alexander Burnes's collection we can at present make no use, but we hold them in deposit for the examination of others, and to await his further instructions. We must be content at present to give the plate referred to, which it will be seen is numbered xliii., together with such brief reading of the names, as a Tyro of Indian numismatics might be expected with the aid of the alphabets to supply. The plate is of Indo-Bactrian coins of date antecedent to the introduction of Grecian art, with the Grecian alphabet, into the mints of that country. The legends are in the ancient No. 1 character of the then universal Pálí language, with Bactrian characters in some instances on the obverse, or intermixed. The names and emblems on these coins are well worth the study of the learned.

Along with Sir A. Burnes's coins, Dr. McLeod brought to Calcutta a very singular relic obtained by Dr. Lord at Badakhshán, and which is, we believe, destined for the British Museum. The relic in question is an ancient patera of silver, embossed in the interior in very high relief, and representing, with all the usual adjuncts of classic mythology, the procession of Bacchus. The god himself sits in a car drawn by two



harnessed females with a drinking cup in his hand. A fat infant, Silenus, stands in front, and there is a female figure sitting on the after corner of the car, which, from its disproportionate size, we imagine to be the carved elbow of the seat on which the god reclines. There are also two winged cupids in attendance, one flying with a wand in his hand, to which a fillet is attached, the other end of which is held by the infant Silenus; and the other on the foreground behind the wheel of the car, as if employed in pushing it on. The car is followed by a dancing Hercules, distinguishable by the club and lion skin. The heads of this figure and of the Bacchus are both wanting, owing probably to their having been of gold, or thought so, while the rest of the patera, being only of silver gilt, has escaped similar violation. The gilding, however, is mostly worn away from long use, and in one part the side of the cup is actually worn through. Independently of the circumstance of the main figure being represented with a cup in hand, its identity with the Grecian Bacchus is proved by the vines circumpendent, and by the figure of a tiger standing prominently out in the fore-ground and drinking out of a wine jar.

This patera is the property of Dr. Lord, who is also the fortunate owner of the double-headed coin of Eucratides, the original apparently from which the plate of a similar coin is given in Dr. Vincent's 'Periplus;' but the double head is there represented as being on both sides of the coin. With a liberality deserving of particular notice, both these unique relics have been gratuitously appropriated by the finder, or are intended to be so, in the manner deemed by him most conducive to the ends of science, Dr. Lord not desiring to retain them as isolated trophies of his own good fortune in the field of research and discovery.

I fear we must not look upon this piece of plate as affording evidence of the state of the arts in Badakhshán, where it was found, at any particular epoch. That it is of high antiquity is quite apparent from the condition of the metal, as well as from the design; but in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, published amongst Arian's works, it is distinctly stated that ἀργυρώματα, i.e. articles of silver plate, were a staple import from the west, for exchange against the productions of India. At Minnagarh, upon the Indus, it is further stated by the author of that treatise that he himself presented to the rája βαρύτιμα ἀργυρώματα, valuable pieces of plate, in order to secure his favor, and the grant of certain privileges of trade. There is thus reason to believe that the patera must have been brought from Greece or Asia Minor, and either presented in like manner, or sold to some sovereign of Bactria, by a merchant desiring similar privileges of trade in that country. That it has been in use for centuries is evident from the



*Indo-Bactrian Coins*



*Buddhist Satrap Coins*



*Pl. XLIV. sc.*





worn condition it now presents; but for how many it was in use, and for how many it lay treasured in royal or other repositories, is more than may now be conjectured.

### INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

Specification of coins in plate xlv.

1. **OBVERSE:** Armed figure standing with a club or spear; no inscription.  
**REVERSE:** Elephant with rider. Bactrian inscription, *Rajasa*; rest not decipherable.
2. **OBVERSE:** Woman and deer, with inscription not legible: emblem, etc.  
**REVERSE:** Tree and mountain; with emblems. [See *ante*, vol. i., p. 201.]
3. **OBVERSE:** Man and bull; same emblem as No. 2; and *Mahardjasa Mahabhatasa* in old Pálí clearly legible, but the name to the left baffles us.  
**REVERSE:** Same device and emblems as No. 2, and *Mahardjasa* clearly legible in Bactrian at the bottom.
4. **OBVERSE:** Same device as No. 2, and same emblem; *Rajna Rajasa Maghadatasa* in old Pálí.  
**REVERSE:** Same device and emblems as No. 2; *Mahardjasa* in Bactrian; the rest not legible.
5. A larger coin; the same device on both sides as No. 3; obverse defaced.  
**REVERSE:** *Mahardjasa* in Bactrian characters.
6. **OBVERSE:** Bull and emblem; no letters.  
**REVERSE:** Same emblems as Nos. 2, 3, and 4, with addition of a wheel: very peculiar.
7. **OBVERSE:** Deer and man, with emblems; *Rajna Kunandasa* in old Pálí.  
**REVERSE:** Same as Nos. 2, 3, 4, etc. •
8. **OBVERSE:** Deer and woman; *Mahardjasa* in Pálí.  
**REVERSE:** Same as No. 2; no inscription.
9. **OBVERSE:** Deer and man; *Kunandasya* in Pálí.  
**REVERSE:** Same as No. 2.
10. Same precisely. Pálí inscription, *Nandasá*, the last letter being an initial  $\eta$  d.

### BUDDHIST SATRAP COINS.

11. **OBVERSE:** Horse caparisoned.  
**REVERSE:** *Rajasa*, in Bactrian, with various marks.
12. **OBVERSE:** Horse.  
**REVERSE:** Standing figure with bow. Inscription in Pálí, *Sarba tápasa patamapasa*. [*Khatrapasa P(H?)agdmashasa*.]
13. The same indistinct.
14. **OBVERSE:** The same worn.  
**REVERSE:** Inscription in lines. *Tamapasa* legible in Pálí. [*Khatrapasa pagámasa P(H?)agdmashasa*.]
15. Nothing distinct.
16. **OBVERSE:** Horse's tail and hind quarter.  
**REVERSE:** Figure standing. *Lagdmapasa* in Pálí.
- 17, 18, 19. **OBVERSE:** Bull.  
**REVERSE:** Standing figure, with inscription *Rajnapadasa*. Centre one in Bactrian.

20. **OBVERSE**: Standing figure. Páli inscription, *Paghugapasa*. [*Khatapasa Raja* . . ]  
**REVERSE**: Figure. No inscription.
21. Nothing made out.
22. **OBVERSE**: Figure in speaking attitude. *Rajna Raghundm*
- 23, 24, 25. Not deciphered.

N.B.—These latter are classified as of the Satrap group—first, because of the title Rája or Mahárája not being found in any of them; secondly, because of the names having so evidently an ancient Persian aspect; and lastly, because of the horse emblem, which probably had its origin in the circumstances which attended the accession of Gushtasp, Darius Hystaspes.

END OF ESSAYS.











